CHAPTER 10

CHRONICLES AND HISTORIES

BYZANTINE HISTORIOGRAPHY of the fourth to sixth centuries is usually assessed under three headings.[1] The first is secular classicising history, which looked back for inspiration to Herodotus and Thucydides, treated warfare and politics, and ideally was based on the author's own experience in the field or in office. It was expected to explain the causes of events and actions, to provide personal commentary and learned digressions, and to encouch all this in appropriately dignified language. Its chronological scope was the recent past and its subject the *res gestae* of the empire. This was in marked contrast to the second genre, the world chronicle, which covered all of human history and considered the deeds of many peoples. It had grown out of a concern to harmonise local records and establish the relative chronology of nations, and in particular to demonstrate the priority of Moses over Plato, so of Biblical lore over Greek philosophy. The first Christian world chronicle proper was provided by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (d. 339), whose great achievement was to correlate a great diversity of material according to a single measure of time, the year of Abraham. He realised this by means of synchronistic tables which listed in parallel columns kingdoms and their rulers, nations and their patriarchs, and recorded select events of sacred and profane history attached to the relevant

[1]The only non-Muslim histories and chronicles for this period are by Christians, though for some hints of Jewish historical activity see the entry on "Jewish Texts" in this chapter.

year.[2] Few continued the format of Eusebius, but in composing their accounts of human history subsequent chroniclers made extensive use of his material, chronology and international scope. It was Eusebius, too, who inaugurated the third genre, ecclesiastical history, the subject of which was the struggles of the Christian nation against persecutions and heresies. It tended to avoid the personal opinions and anecdotes so much a feature of classicising history and to rely much on documents, a consequence of its concern for the accuracy of the account.[3]

This categorisation was of course never intended to embrace all the different forms of history writing by the Christians of that time, but for our period it becomes almost redundant. In Greek the genres of ecclesiastical and secular history petered out after Evagrius (wr. 590s) and Theophylact (wr. *ca.* 630) respectively.[4] In other languages secular histories continued to be written, but though they treated the traditional subjects of politics and warfare, their outlook was wholly Christian.[5] Ecclesiastical histories were also still composed, especially in Syriac, but only one author adhered to the Eusebian principle of reliance upon documentary evidence.[6] The world chronicle, because it had to bear much of the responsibility for conveying the past to future generations,

[2]Eusebius had many forerunners, in particular Julianus Africanus, but Eusebius' originality seems evident (argued by Croke, "The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle"). The synchronistic tables, called "chronological canons," are only the second part of Eusebius' work; the first consisted of the raw material for the canons: lists of kings, notables and holders of office for the various peoples and states.

[3]For the historiography of this period see Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, and Hadrill, *Christian Antioch*, 52–66 (on ecclesiastical history); Croke and Emmett, "Historiography in Late Antiquity;" Croke, "Byzantine Chronicle Writing: 1. The Early Development;" Winkelmann, "Kirchensgeschichtwerke;" Whitby, "Greek Historical Writing after Procopius;" and more generally, Momigliano, "Tradition and the Classical Historian;" *idem*, "Pagan and Christian Historiography."

[4]Secular history made a return with the work of Leo the Deacon (covering the period 959–76) and was thereafter fairly continuous until Laonicus Chalcocondyles (1298–1463) and Michael Critobolus (1451–67), but there are significant differences between these later compositions and earlier classicising history (see Scott, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography").

[5]Cf. Sebeos and Lewond (for discussion see the entry on "Armenian Texts" in this chapter).

[6]Namely Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (see the entry on him and the introduction to "Syriac Texts" in this chapter).

had also to transcend its original format. There had been considerable variety even in its early stages: from the *Paschal Chronicle*, a cursory outline of world chronology and record of events, to the more narrative exposition of the past produced by John Malalas. But in the ensuing centuries it diversified further. There are the concise annals of the *Chronicle of 819* and that *of 846*, the narrative annals of the Zuqnin chronicler and Theophanes, the universal chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmaḥre and his imitators, the didactic chronicle of George the Monk, the ecclesiastical chronicles of the Nestorians,[7] and many more.

Indeed, it is doubtful whether one should constrain all these very different works under the rubric of chronicle.[8] Those usually so termed do exhibit certain common features: all begin from some point in the remote past, most often Creation; they arrange their material in chronological order and attempt to date at least major events; they record both secular and ecclesiastical affairs and treat the history of other nations besides the Christian one. Nevertheless, they are very different in language, form and scope, and one should evaluate each example on its own merits.

Though their style and approach may differ substantially, the authors assembled in this chapter are, however, united in one respect, namely in their acceptance of Muslim rule as a long-term fixture, so requiring some sort of explanation or rationalisation. Earlier histories, such as those of Sebeos and John bar Penkaye, do present a view of the Arabs' emergence, but they have no conception of an enduring Muslim state. The works described here, on the other hand, distinguish themselves by deliberately setting aside an entry for Muḥammad and the rise of Islam, and/or by having as their aim to treat the progress of Islam's hegemony.

[7]See the introduction to "Syriac Texts" in this chapter for explanation of the term "ecclesiastical chronicle."

[8]For discussion see Beck, "Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik;" Ljubarskij, "Neue Tendenzen in der Erforschung der byzantinischen Historiographie;" Afinogenov, "Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine Historiography" (contrasting George the Monk and Zonaras); Ljubarskij, "New Trends in the Study of Byzantine Historiography," esp. 133–34 ("histories disappeared, but chronicles remained and began developing in the direction of histories").

Syriac Texts[9]

Secular classicising history was too tainted by its pagan past and too anthropocentric to win favour in the milieu of Syriac Christianity,[10] but the chronicle (*maktbānūt zabnē*) enjoyed great popularity. It was in Syriac that the system of Eusebius was most closely followed: by Simeon of Barqa in the days of Khusrau II,[11] by Jacob of Edessa, who carried it on to 692, by his disciple John of Litarb, who continued until 726,[12] and much later by the Nestorian metropolitan Elias of Nisibis

[9]Syriac historical texts are surveyed by Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 187–224; Chabot, "La littérature historique des Syriens;" Czeglédy, "Monographs on Syriac and Muhammadan Sources of Kmosko," 41–50, 53–63; Segal, "Syriac Chronicles;" Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit*, 4–7; Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*, 12–16; Barsaum, *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr*, 126–37; Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing;" Spuler, "La 'Sīra' et les conquêtes des arabes d'après les sources syriaques;" Habbi, "Al-tawārīkh al-suryānīya;" Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, 76–89; Healey, "Syriac Sources and the Umayyad Period;" Fiey, "The Umayyads in Syriac Sources;" Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives."

[10]The closest to it is the *Chronicle* of ps.-Joshua the Stylite, which narrates events in Syria from 495 to 507, and particularly the Byzantine–Persian war of Anastasius I and Kavad. His descriptions of people, places and conditions reveal first-hand knowledge, and he does consider causes and offer his own opinions on a number of different matters. But his guiding purpose would be unpalatable to a classicising historian, namely "to leave in writing memorials of the chastisements which have been wrought in our times because of our sins so that when they ('all the lovers of learning') see the things that have befallen us, they may take warning from our sins and be spared our punishments" (cited by Riad, *Studies in the Syriac Preface*, 79).

[11]Both Elias of Nisibis (*Chronicle*, 2.99) and 'Abdisho' of Nisibis (Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 168) say that Simeon expounded the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. Elias calls him Garmqaya (of Beth Garmai), 'Abdisho' gives Barqaya and further on Karkaya (Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 230); one should probably assume that one and the same person is meant (thus Baumstark, *GSL*, 135–36; Wright, *Short History of Syriac Literature*, 132).

[12]Michael the Syrian 11.XX, 461/500 (marginal note): "John the Stylite of Litarb ends here the book which he composed on the times" (comes after a notice on the union of the Syrian and Armenian churches in AG 1037). Dionysius of Tellmaḥre classes John with those "who chart the succession of years" (cited in *ibid.* 10.XX, 378/358), but *ibid.* 11.XVII, 450/482–83, says: "After him (Jacob of Edessa) we have found no one who preoccupied himself with these notations and calculations of the years which show so clearly the procession of time." Probably, then, John composed a short chronology with similarities to Eusebius' work, but not in the same format.

(d. 1049).[13] More commonly, however, Eusebius' work was excerpted and adapted for the composition of chronicles, which in their earliest stages adhered to an annalistic format. Notices, typically terse, of church and civil affairs were placed together under each year beginning from some suitably inaugural point such as Creation, Abraham, the Incarnation or Constantine the Great. Commencing with the various chronicles of Edessa, which ultimately had their roots in the archives kept at the court of the Abgarid kings of that city (132–244),[14] this method of presentation remained in vogue at least until the mid-ninth century. Already by the late eighth century, however, there was a gradual move towards a new style, towards a more narrative approach. In the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* the notices for the eighth century are often quite substantial, occasionally running to a few pages; it is still contained within an annalistic frame, but only just. With Dionysius of Tellmaḥre's work the annalistic fetters are broken and a new type of world chronicle is born.[15] The chronological order of events is still taken as the starting point, but it no longer excludes occasional digressions or further divisions of material, such as by books and chapters, and there is also a separation of subject matter into sacred and profane history.

Ecclesiastical history was not so well defined a genre in Syriac as in Greek. Among the Jacobites the work of John of Ephesus (wr. 580s) is limited in its use of documents and heavily embroiled in secular affairs;[16] that of Daniel bar Moses (wr. *ca.* 750) would seem to have relied more on anecdotes than documents.[17] Dionysius of Tellmaḥre tried to advance

[13]See the entry on him in this chapter. For illustration of the use of Eusebius by Syriac chroniclers see Keseling, "Die Chronik des Eusebius in der syrischen Überlieferung."

[14]The reliance of the mid-sixth-century *Chronicle of Edessa* and later works on earlier documentary material from Edessa is demonstrated by Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa."

[15]Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, 83, distinguishes between the short chronicle and the developed chronicle; Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 9–10, prefers to call the latter "universal history."

[16]Thus van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, esp. 77–79, 83–85, though this judgement might be different if we had the first two parts of his *Ecclesiastical History*; these were published as a complete work, and the third part was only added in response to the Monophysite persecutions in the 570s, which affected John directly.

[17]Or so we are told by Dionysius of Tellmaḥre, cited by Michael the Syrian 10.XX, 378/358. Cyrus of Batna is also said to have written an ecclesiastical history in

the genre by separating civil from church history, granting the latter primary place, but the difficulties in this are illustrated by the unequal use made of the two parts by later writers.[18] The Nestorians came up with the solution of what one might call the ecclesiastical chronicle. This might have material arranged according to the succession of catholici or as entries on various holy men, but there was a definite attempt to maintain a chronological order and a considerable amount of attention was devoted to secular affairs.[19] Unfortunately a detailed assessment is hampered by the scarcity of extant texts, the majority of authors being known only from brief citations: Allahazeka, Mika, Daniel bar Maryam and Elias of Merw of the seventh century;[20] Simeon bar Ṭabbaḥa of Kashkar, Mar Athqen, George of Shushtar and Theodore bar Koni of

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Syriac, but we know nothing of it except that it was in fourteen books and stopped at 582 (*ibid.* 10.XX, 377/356–57).

[18]See the entry on "Dionysius of Tellmaḥre" in this chapter.

[19]This is stated explicitly in the title of the *Chronicle of Khuzistan* and is obvious from a brief perusal of the *Chronicle of Siirt*. Note also that Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 1.128–41, cites Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra's *Ecclesiastical History* for the death of Khusrau II and accession of Shiroi (AH 7), 'Umar in Jerusalem (AH 17), the death of Heraclonas and accession of Constantine (AH 20), Mu'āwiya's preparations for a naval battle with the Byzantines (AH 34), the first Arab civil war (AH 36) and Constans' raid against the Slavs and murder of his brother (AH 39).

[20]Allahazeka is cited four times and Mika three times by Elias of Nisibis (*Chronicle*, 1.123–25) for the years AG 906–17/594–605. An Allahazeka appears as a correspondent of Isho'yahb III (*Ep.* 36B, 60–62), and a Mika of Beth Garmai is noted as a contemporary of Isho'yahb III ('Amr and Ṣalība, *Kitāb al-majdal*, 56). If one accepts the identification, then these two historians flourished in the early seventh century. On Daniel, who is cited five times by the *Chronicle of Siirt*, see Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 231; Degen, "Daniel bar Maryam, ein nestorianischer Kirchenhistoriker;" *eadem*, "Die Kirchengeschichte des Daniel bar Maryam." If Elias of Merw is the author of the *Chronicle of Khuzistan*, then his work is extant (see the entry thereon in Chapter 5 above). Bar Sahde of Karka d-Beth Slokh, whose *Ecclesiastical History* treated the sixth-century Jewish persecution of the Himyarite Christians (Scher, "Manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à Diarbékir," 400 [no. 96]) and is cited by Elias of Nisibis (*Chronicle*, 1.116) for AG 795, was placed by Assemani (*BO* 3.1, 229) without explanation in the time of the catholicos Pethion (731–40). He might rather be identified with the Bar Sahde who is mentioned in a Gospel colophon as teacher at the school of Nisibis in the twenty-fifth year of Khusrau/615 (Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.53 [no. 77]).

the eighth century;[21] a certain Pethion and Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra, both probably writing in the first half of the ninth century.[22]

Short Chronologies[23]

A number of short chronologies, as I call them, are to be found in Syriac and Greek. Some, like the first two examples below, are a mere list of the rulers of the currently prevailing dynasty; others, like the one *ad annum 775* in Syriac and that *ad annum 818* in Greek, comprise lists of religious as well as of secular authorities, past as well as present, and even include a few events. There has been no study of them, but one assumes them to be the raw material for chronicles proper, much like the first part of Eusebius' and Elias of Nisibis' chronographical *opus*. The longer examples may rather/also have been intended as handy guides for reckoning where one was on the path to salvation or as thumbnail sketches of human history. The following example and

[21]Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 215 (Simeon: Mārī, *Kitāb al-majdal*, 68/60, says he was treasurer for the caliph Manṣūr), 216–17 (Athqen: his history is not noted here, but is cited by Thomas of Marga, *Governors* XII–III, 80–85; XVI, 88–89), 228–29 (George), 198 (Theodore: his *Scholia* IX.22, 2.219, mentions a completion date of AG 1103/792, though not in all manuscripts).

[22]Pethion is cited twice by Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 1.178–79 (AH 148/765, 151/768). Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 19 n. 49, has confused three different persons of this name: director of the school of Bashosh (addressee of Timothy I, *Letters*, no. 43), a younger contemporary of the latter resident in Elam (addressee of *ibid.*, no. 10) and "Pethion the translator" (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 24, 244; cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn*, 1.123–41, for as late as the reign of Mutawakkil [847–61]). That the first two are to be distinguished is affirmed by Braun, "Briefe des Katholikos Timotheos I," 2; Baudoux, "A propos de la lettre du patriarche Timothée au prêtre et docteur Péthion," seems unaware of Braun's article. On Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra, cited seventeen times by Elias of Nisibis, see the entry in Chapter 5 above.

[23]In translating these short chronologies I transliterate the Arab names as they appear in the Syriac. We do not really know how the Prophet's name was vocalised in these early texts, so I simply write the consonants. Perhaps also of relevance here is the short chronicle of disasters that occurred from 712–16 (ed. and tr. by Nau, "Un colloque," 253–56/264–67, and tr. in Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 45–47). Such material is very common in Christian chronicles of all kinds, read and used as signs of God's favour/displeasure, but the text's almost exclusive focus on this material is unusual.

other short chronologies demonstrate that such lists were periodically updated, though only insofar as they were still of interest or relevance to the compiler and his community.[24]

> AD ANNUM 705: A report giving information about the kingdom of the Arabs, and how many kings there were from them, and how much territory each of them held after his predecessor before he died.
>
> Mḥmṭ came upon the earth in 932 of Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian (620–21); then he reigned 7 years.
>
> Then there reigned after him Abū Bakr for 2 years.
>
> And there reigned after him 'Umūr for 12 years.
>
> And there reigned after him 'Ūthman for 12 years, and they were without a leader during the war of Ṣiffin (*Ṣefē*) for $5\frac{1}{2}$ years.
>
> Thereafter Ma'wiyā reigned for 20 years.
>
> And after him Īzīd the son of Ma'wiyā reigned for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.
>
> {In margin: and after Īzīd for one year they were without a leader}
>
> And after him 'Abdūlmalik reigned for 21 years.
>
> And after him his son Walīd took power in AG 1017, at the beginning of first Tishrīn (October 705).[25]

This list of Arab rulers is found in a late ninth-century manuscript of very varied contents, sandwiched between "select sentences from the proverbs of Solomon" and "extracts from the discourse of Isaac

[24]Thus *Short Chron. 818*, cited below, ceases to record the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch after the early seventh century, and Jacob of Edessa omits the names of the Chalcedonian patriarchs in Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch after the late sixth century (except for Cyrus in Alexandria, 631–42). Of course availability of information could also have been a factor.

[25]*Short Chron. 705*, 11.

of Antioch on prayer."[26] Its provenance is thus unknown and it is presumably incomplete since the promised statistics regarding Muslim-occupied lands do not appear. Rather than the ten years apiece granted them by Muslim sources, Muḥammad is given a seven-year reign and 'Umar, possibly to make up the shortfall, is accorded twelve years.[27] An accession date is provided for Walīd alone, which suggests that the list did end with him and that this event was recent. Hence October 705 or shortly after is the most probable time of composition.

> AD ANNUM 724: A notice of the life of Mḥmṭ the messenger (*r...ā*)[28] of God, after he had entered his city and three months before he entered it, from his first year; and how long each king lived who arose after him over the Muslims once they had taken power; and how long there was dissension (*ptnā*)[29] among them.
>
> Three months before Mḥmd came.
>
> And Mḥmd lived ten years [more].
>
> And Abū Bakr bar Abū Qūḥafā: 2 years and 6 months.
>
> And 'Ūmar bar Kattāb: 10 years and 3 months.
>
> And 'Ūthman bar 'Āfan: 12 years.
>
> And dissension after 'Ūthman: 5 years and 4 months.
>
> And Ma'wiyā bar Abū Syfan: 19 years and 2 months.
>
> And Īzīd bar Ma'wiyā: 3 years and 8 months.
>
> And dissension after Īzīd: 9 months.
>
> And Marwan bar Ḥakam: 9 months.
>
> And 'Abdalmalik bar Marwan: 21 years and 1 month.

[26]Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.992–93 (no. 861); see also Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 43–44.

[27]Muḥammad is also assigned seven years by Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 326, and *Chron. Zuqnin*, 150; and 'Umar twelve years by *Chron. Zuqnin*, 150, and *Syriac CS*, *s.v.* 644.

[28]A later hand has tried to erase this word, which is clearly meant to represent the Arabic *rasūl*.

[29]This represents the Arabic word *fitna*, which denotes civil discord.

> Walīd bar 'Abdalmalik: 9 years and 8 months.
>
> And Sūlayman bar 'Abdalmalik: 2 years and 9 months.
>
> And 'Ūmar bar 'Abdal'azīz: 2 years and 5 months.
>
> And Īzīd bar 'Abdalmalik: 4 years and 1 month and 2 days.
>
> The total of all these years is 104, and 5 months and 2 days.[30]

This list appears on the last folio of an eighth-century manuscript, following the *Chronicle* of Thomas the Presbyter described in Chapter 4 above. The "three months before Muḥammad" presumably refers to the interval between the beginning of the Islamic calendar on 16 July 622 and the date of Muḥammad's arrival in Medina on 24 September 622.[31] And it would seem that the Islamic lunar calendar is being used, for 104 solar years after Muḥammad's arrival in Medina would take us to February 727, whereas Yazīd II died in January AH 105/724.[32] One assumes that the list was drawn up on or soon after Yazīd's death. The employment of the lunar calendar, the attempt to be accurate regarding names and terms of office and the use of the Arabic words *rasūl* and *fitna* suggest that the above was translated from an Arabic original. There may, then, be some relation between these short chronologies and the lists of caliphs, governors, judges, secretaries, scholars and the like that form the backbone of Muslim chronicles.[33]

> AD ANNUM 775: An account of how the generations and races and years were from Adam until today....We therefore begin our discourse from the beginning of Creation:[34]

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[30] *Short Chron. 724*, 40.

[31] See Ṭabarī, 1.1255–56, where it is explained that though Muḥammad's emigration to Medina is the starting point of Muslim chronology, the fact that he made it in the third month of the year means that "year 1" begins $2\frac{1}{2}$ months earlier.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2.1463, who corroborates that Yazīd reigned 4 years and 1 month.

[33] That is, in chronicles under each year or at the end of each caliph's reign it will be reported who held office, who flourished/died etc. (see Schacht, "The Kitāb al-Tārīkh of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ").

[34] This is the start of the preface, which is addressed to "the servants of truth" (*mshammshānē da-shrārā*) and "my brothers and beloved," whom the author feels "should be instructed about all that is fitting for the truth" and for whom he will

Biblical figures and events are briefly noted from Adam → Flood → Abraham → death of Joshua bar Nun → reign of king David → Babylonian captivity → birth of Christ.[35] Then comes a list of Roman and Byzantine rulers with the length of their reigns until:

> Maurice, 27 years and 6 months; Phocas, 8 years; Heraclius, 24 years.
>
> In 930 of Alexander, Heraclius and the Romans entered Constantinople, and Mḥmṭ and the Arabs went forth from the south and entered the land and subdued it.
>
> The years of the Muslims and the time when they entered Syria and took power, from the year 933 of Alexander, each of them by name, are as follows: Mḥmṭ, 10 years; Abū Bakr, one year; ʿŪmar, 12 years; ʿŪthman, 12 years; and without a king, 5 years; Maʿwiyā, 20 years; Yazīd, his son, 3 years; and without a king, 9 months; Marwan, 9 months; ʿAbdalmalīk, 21 years; Walīd, his son, 9 years; Sūlayman, 2 years and 7 months; ʿŪmar, 2 years and 7 months; Yazīd, 4 years and 10 months and 10 days.
>
> And in the year 1035, which is year 105 of the Arabs, Hishām son of ʿAbd al-Malīk took power in the month of latter Kānūn (January).
>
> And in the year 1054 Hishām died and Walīd son of Yazīd took power and he was killed. And after him there arose Marwan son of Mḥmṭ.
>
> And in the year 128 of the Arabs he (Marwan) destroyed Ḥimṣ.
>
> And in the year 129 he marched against Daḥḥāk the Ḥarūrī.
>
> And in the year 130 of the Arabs he marched against the Wearers of Black (*msawwedē*, i.e. Abbasids) and was de-

"sum up briefly from the holy books that which is suitable and will build up your zeal." He is perhaps an abbot writing for his brethren. The preface is translated and commented upon by Riad, *Studies in the Syriac Preface*, 100–102.

[35]This earlier portion is based on Eusebius; see Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.611 (no. 714).

> feated by them and fled, and in Egypt he was killed by the general Abū ʿĀwn. And in this year Abū l-ʿAbbās son of Mḥmṭ the Hāshimī took power.
>
> And in the year 1065 ʿAbd Allah son of Mḥmṭ, his brother, took power.
>
> And in the year 133 the city Circesium was destroyed by Abū Naṣr, and in this year all the cities of Mesopotamia were destroyed.
>
> And in the year 1087 in the month of latter Tishrīn Mḥmṭ al-Mahdī, his son, took power.[36]

The list of Muslim rulers from Muḥammad to Yazīd II gives a total of 104 years, 6 months and 10 days, only one month and 8 days off the figure given in the previous entry. So again the Islamic calendar is being used, though the regnal years diverge somewhat from the traditional Muslim estimates. After the lists of Byzantine and Arab rulers, which give only the name and length of reign of the monarch and which are presumably independent units, the compiler continues with notices of his own as far as the coming to power of the caliph Mahdī in 775. These subsequent notices are more in the fashion of a chronicle, longer and comprising information beyond regnal lengths.

The paragraph connecting the two lists of rulers, probably inserted by the compiler, contains a number of oddities. Heraclius' reign is cut from the usual 30 years and 5 months to 24 years, which takes us to 633–34, the date of the start of the Arab conquests, perhaps seen by the compiler to mark the end of Byzantine dominion over the Near East. There is no obvious event in AG 930/618–19 to link with the Byzantines' entry into Constantinople and the Arabs' emigration. Heraclius entered the capital upon his accession in 610 and also in 613 after his failed attempt to halt the Persian advance in Syria; but one imagines that the notice would refer to his triumphal entry in 628 after his defeat of the Persians.[37]

[36] *Short Chron. 775*, 348–49 (Maurice → end). Note the alternation between Seleucid and Hijri dates in the last section of this work.

[37] Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 1.237–40, 383–84 (n. 42).

One might postulate scribal error and assume AG 940 was meant,[38] and that the mention of Arab mobilisation intended the battle of Mu'ta, which occurred in 629 and did find its way into non-Muslim sources.[39] But this reference to AG 930 is not isolated. An inscription of 780 carved on the wall of a church at Ehnesh in northern Syria notes: "In the year 930 the Arabs came to the land." Jacob of Edessa has Muḥammad travel to Syria three years before "the beginning of the kingdom of the Arabs" (in AG 933), so again in AG 930. And a Chinese source equates AH 34 with 651, which is only correct if one counts from 618–19.[40] A major Arab incursion into Syria is recorded by Theophanes and Michael; the latter places it soon after a solar eclipse which must be that of 4 November AG 929/617.[41] To some Syrians this event could perhaps have been seen in retrospect as the first of a long run of attacks which brought about Arab domination of the Middle East. Otherwise the error may be due to a misunderstanding of the lunar calendar used by the Muslims or due to some quirk in Christian chronology,[42] but it is worth noting that the same three-year discrepancy is sometimes encountered in Muslim sources too.[43]

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[38]Both Lewond, I, and Eutychius, *Annales*, 2.1, are eleven years out at this point, placing Muḥammad's death in the eleventh year of the reign of Heraclius (620–21).

[39]Theophanes, 335; commented upon by Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition," 21–26.

[40]*Ehnesh Inscription*, *s.a.* AG 930 (see the entry thereon in this chapter); Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 326 (though it is difficult to be certain of dates in this work); Ou-yang, *Hsin T'ang shu*, CCXXIb (cited in Chapter 7 above).

[41]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 610–11; Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 115. Both Theophanes and Michael date the incursion to the first year of Heraclius, so Michael may have wrongly connected it with the eclipse.

[42]E.g. many Jacobites placed the birth of Christ in AG 309 rather than 312 (see Jacob of Edessa, *Letter to John the Stylite*, no. 6); *Short Chron. 705* and Michael the Syrian, together with their source Jacob of Edessa, assign to Muḥammad a rule of seven years, whereas *Short Chron. 724*, evidently dependent upon a Muslim source, has ten years.

[43]Muḥammad is said to have spent 10 or 13 years in Medina, to have lived to the age of 60 or 63 etc. (Lammens, "L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la sîra," 219; Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 203–209); see Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 157 n. 39, for further examples.

Theophilus of Edessa and the Syriac Common Source

Theophilus bar Thomas of Edessa is a rather obscure figure of Late Antiquity, but there are hints that he was quite an important one. If we can believe an anecdote that relates how he died within a few days of the Abbasid caliph Mahdī (775–85) at the age of ninety, then he was born in 695 and, as his name suggests, at the city of Edessa in northern Syria.[44] We first hear of him in the late 750s when he was accompanying Mahdī on a campaign in the East, presumably acting as the future caliph's astrological adviser.[45] Thereafter he remained in the service of Mahdī, becoming chief astrologer during his reign and taking up residence in Baghdad.[46] His scientific writings have been fragmentarily preserved and very little studied, so we cannot yet be certain of what he wrote.[47] Very popular was his *Peri katarchōn polemikōn* ("On Military Forecasts"), which was cited by later Muslim astrologers and chapters of which made their way to Byzantium to become incorporated in a mid-ninth century collection of astrological writings.[48] Astrology was evidently his passion, for in the preface to the second edition of the

[44]Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syriacum*, 127; *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 219–20.

[45]Cumont, *CCAG* 5.1, 234; Theophilus addresses his son Deukalion: "I was urged, as you know, by those holding power to undertake these things (i.e. write a treatise on military forecasts) at the time when we made the expedition with them to the East in the province of *Margianēs*" (i.e. Margiana, the Merw oasis). A second edition of this work contains a chapter *De stellis fixis* which gives a planetary conjunction correct for 768 (Cumont, *CCAG* 5.1, 212). The campaign must, therefore, be before 768 and very likely refers to Mahdī's activities in AH 141/758–59 in Khurasan, quelling the revolt of its governor 'Abd al-Jabbār with the help of Khāzim ibn Khuzayma, and in Tabaristan (Ṭabarī, 3.134–37).

[46]Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ḥukamā'*, 109 (*wa-kāna hādha l-munajjim bi-Baghdād wa-huwa ra'īs munajjimī l-Mahdī*); Cumont, *CCAG*, 1.130 (an astronomical calculation made by Theophilus at Baghdad).

[47]Still the best survey is Cumont, *CCAG* 5.1, 229–32. See also Breydy, "Das Chronikon des Maroniten Theophilos ibn Tuma," though his views on Theophilus' historical writing are of no use, since he still holds to the idea that Theophilus is to be identified with the Maronite chronicler (see the entry on him in Chapter 4 above).

[48]This is the so-called *Synatagma Laurentianum*, which can be reconstructed from three manuscripts in Florence, the earliest of the late tenth or eleventh century; see Boll, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Astrologie und Astronomie," 88–110, and in particular 92–95. Brief comments on Theophilus' astrological writings

aforementioned astrological work, addressed to his son Deukalion, he defends this science vociferously against those who would slander its name, "church leaders" being, so he says, the most conspicuous of such detractors.[49]

Besides his scientific output Theophilus is also said to have translated into Syriac Galen's *On the Method of Maintaining Good Health*,[50] Homer's *Iliad*, and penned a "fine work of history."[51] It has been suggested that the latter work is to be identified with the *Syriac Common Source* that was used by Theophanes, Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (partially preserved for us by Michael the Syrian and the chronicler of 1234) and Agapius of Manbij for much of their information on events in the Muslim realm.[52] A careful comparison of the chronicles of these three authors confirms this hypothesis. It is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that Agapius, who relies almost exclusively upon the *Syriac Common Source* for the period 630–750, states at the end of this section that he has drawn upon the "books" of Theophilus of Edessa. That Dionysius, in the preface to his chronicle, also names Theophilus as a

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and citation from them by Muslim writers are made by Sezgin, *GAS*, 7.49–50, and Ullman, *Die Natur- und Geheimniswissenschaften im Islam*, 302. See also Rosenthal, "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts," 454–55, which describes a ninth-century list of astrological books that includes Theophilus (cf. Cumont, *CCAG*, 1.83).

[49]Cumont, *CCAG*, 5.1, 234–38. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, 70, briefly discusses this preface.

[50]Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, §84. Ḥunayn calls it "a dreadfully bad translation," but then he did translate the work himself and so may be indulging in the common practice of disparaging one's forerunners. Otherwise, could this be a different Theophilus of Edessa, perhaps the "Theophilus of Edessa the steward (*al-qahramān*)," whom Mārī, *Kitāb al-majdal*, 75/66, mentions as friend of the court physician George ibn Bokhtisho' and as alive during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809).

[51]Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syriacum*, 127; *idem*, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 220.

[52]Brooks, "Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers," deliberated between Theophilus and John bar Samuel; Becker, "Eine neue christliche Quelle," opted for Theophilus, and this has recently been supported by Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition," 43. For information on the chroniclers dependent upon Theophilus see the relevant entries in this chapter. Note that the chronicler of Siirt also depends upon Theophilus, presumably indirectly, though it is not clear by which intermediaries (see *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 610, 622, 625–26, 634, 636–37, 637–42, 641, 651–52).

source gives us the clinching proof. The question is now can we say anything about this work?

The common notices on Eastern affairs in Theophanes and Agapius occur in almost exactly the same sequence. Michael the Syrian, too, largely follows this order in his civil history column, though a number of reports are drafted to one of the other two columns. From a comparison of these three authors it becomes immediately apparent that the notices follow a chronological order. A few are misplaced, but the intention was clearly to progress through history from some point in the past up until the author's own day. Yet it is also evident from the frequency with which Dionysius and Agapius either begin a notice with "at this time" or else disagree with each other on dating that Theophilus' work was not annalistic and was indeed rather sparing with dates.[53] This is an important point, for Theophanes is very often relied upon for ascertaining the date of an event. But it is because he is writing an annalistic work that he puts notices under specific years, not necessarily because these notices were originally dated. And in the case of the notices on Eastern affairs, Theophanes has often had simply to place them where he thought best.

What the start and end point were for Theophilus is a difficult question. Constant recourse to him is made by all his dependents from the notice on Abū Bakr's despatch of four generals onwards (*s.a.* 634). Before this time Theophanes is able to obtain fairly full coverage from Byzantine sources, and therefore only very occasionally turns to Theophilus. The earliest point at which he appears to do so concerns the Persians' crossing of the Euphrates to capture Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia (*s.a.* 610). Dionysius and Agapius do share some notices for the years 589–610, those on the revolt against Khusrau (*s.a.* 589–91) and the deposition of Maurice (*s.a.* 602) being recounted in a very similar manner. However, their common source need not be Theophilus, for they could both here be drawing upon Sergius Ruṣafaya, a nobleman

[53]Theophilus may have proceeded by simply narrating events, arranging his entries in chronological order as far as possible and occasionally giving synchronisms after the fashion of Eusbius; e.g. "In the year 34/35/37 of the Arabs, 10/13 of Constans and 9 of 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya prepared a naval expedition against Constantinople" (Theophanes, 345; Agapius, 483; Michael 11.XI, 430/445; *Chron. 1234*, 1.274).

of Edessa, whom Dionysius is explicitly said to be using as a source for this period and to whom Agapius, as bishop of nearby Manbij, would probably have had access.[54]

Theophilus' dependents give very different accounts of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam, so it is difficult to be sure of Theophilus' own opinions on the matter. Dionysius and Agapius do, however, follow the same basic outline, which is almost certainly that of Theophilus:[55]

1. In the year 933/935 of the Greeks, 11/12 of Heraclius, 30/31/33 of Khusrau, Muḥammad appeared in the land of Yathrib.[56]

2. On journeys to Palestine, he had gained some religious knowledge.[57]

3. He now called the Arabs to the worship of the one God.

4. Muḥammad gradually won over all the Arabs.

5. Muḥammad's followers waged campaigns beyond Arabia, while he remained in Yathrib.[58]

[54]Michael the Syrian 11.III, 409/411: "From this nobleman Sergius is derived [a part of] the chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmaḥre [which extends] over six generations." See Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 98–99, 134 n. 306, 135 n. 308.

[55]I owe this point to Conrad, *Muhammadanea Edessensis*, who discusses at length the notices on Muḥammad of Theophilus' dependents.

[56]Dionysius in *Chron. 1234*, 1.227, and Michael the Syrian 11.II, 405/403 (*nfaq b-ar'ā d-Yatrib*); Agapius, 456 (*taḥarraka al-'arab bi-Yathrib*); cf. *Chron. Siirt* CI, *PO* 13, 600 (*ẓahara bi-arḍ Tihāma*). Theophanes, 334, says: "This heresy prevailed in the region of Ethribos."

[57]This is in Theophanes, 334 ("whenever he came to Palestine, he consorted with Christians and Jews and sought from them certain scriptural matters") and Dionysius as preserved in *Chron. 1234*, 1.227/Michael the Syrian 11.II, 405/403 ("He began to go up and down from his town of Yathrib to Palestine for the business of buying and selling. While so engaged in the country/with the Jews, he saw/learnt from them the belief in one God").

[58]Michael the Syrian 11.II, 405–406/404 ("when many had submitted to him, he no longer went out in person at the head of those going out to plunder, but sent others at the head of his armies"); *Chron. Siirt* CI, *PO* 13, 601 ("when Islam became strong, he refrained from going out in person to war and began to despatch his companions"). The Muslim tradition, too, has Muḥammad, at the end of his life, sending commanders out on campaigns while he remained in Medina, but these

6. Muḥammad's teachings.

The last section concludes with a description of paradise, which was retained by all and which makes clear their dependency upon a common source:

> *Theophanes*: He said that this paradise was one of carnal eating and drinking and intercourse with women, and had a river of wine, honey and milk, and that the women were not like the ones down here, but different ones, and that the intercourse was longlasting and the pleasure continuous.
>
> *Dionysius*: They say that there is carnal eating and drinking in it, and copulation with glamorous courtesans, beds of gold to lie upon with mattresses of gold and topaz, and rivers of milk and honey.[59]
>
> *Agapius*: He mentioned that in paradise there is food and drink, marriage, rivers of wine, milk and honey, and black-eyed women untouched by man or spirit.

Except for this extract, Theophanes almost totally ignores Theophilus for his notice on Muḥammad, drawing instead, indirectly, on Jewish and Muslim sources.[60] Agapius abridges Theophilus, as he himself acknowl-

never got beyond southern Palestine and the Balqa' (thus Usāma ibn Zayd's raid noted in Ibn Hishām, 970, 999), and most remained in Arabia, whereas Theophilus and other non-Muslim sources imply that they ranged much further afield (see Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 4, 24–25, 152 n. 7).

[59]This is what is common to Michael the Syrian 11.II, 407/405, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.229, but both say more.

[60]His account breaks down into four parts: Muḥammad's dealings with "the misguided Jews" (see the entry on the *Ten Wise Jews* in Chapter 11 below), a summary of the ancestry of the major Arabian tribes (see Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition," 11–16), a distorted but well-informed version of the Muslim biography of Muḥammad, the teachings of Muḥammad (largely only the passage on paradise cited above). See further Conrad, *Muhammadanea Edessensis*, who compares Theophanes' account with that in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, XIV, XVII, and concludes that the latter is dependent not on Theophanes, but on the same continuation of Theophilus used by Theophanes. The whole section on the Arabs of the *De administrando imperio* (XIV–XXV) is discussed by Bury, "The Treatise De administrando imperio," 525–33.

edges, and supplements him with material from the Muslim tradition.[61] That leaves Dionysius, who seems to me to preserve best Theophilus' entry, but confirmation of this will require further research.[62]

The last notice of which we can be sure that all have it from Theophilus concerns the manoeuvres of the caliph Marwān against Sulaymān ibn Hishām and Ḍaḥḥāk the Kharijite in 746. Thereafter Theophanes begins to adduce new material, and we can conclude that this point marks the commencement of the activity of Theophilus' continuator via whom Theophanes uses Theophilus.[63] Agapius and the chronicler of 1234 correspond very closely in their narratives—to the extent that one could often pass for a translation of the other—from 744 to 750, then with some divergence until 754. The final notice which our three authors might plausibly all have in common is that which relates how 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, upon the death of Abū l-'Abbās in 754,

[61]Agapius, 457, gives two lists of Muḥammad's teachings, of a very different nature (the first enumerates practices, the second mostly details beliefs) and both mentioning the requirement of prayer, and so unlikely to be by the same author. The elements of the second list (belief in the prophets and what God revealed to them, Christ, the Gospel, Judgement and paradise; also fasting and prayer) are all found in much the same order in Dionysius (Michael the Syrian 11.II, 406–407/404–405; *Chron. 1234*, 1.228–29). This second list must, therefore, be from Theophilus. For the first list, and for other parts of his account of Muḥammad, Agapius would seem to have drawn on his Muslim source (see the entry on "Agapius" in this chapter), as is suggested by the classical Islamic phraseology of Muḥammad's prescriptions (*an yuqīmū al-ṣalāt wa-yūtū al-zakāt... an yu'addū ilayhi al-jizya wa-l-kharāj*). Theophilus himself does not seem to have drawn upon the Muslim tradition (see Excursus C below). Conrad, *Muhammadanea Edessensis*, states the opposite, citing the material of Muslim origin in Theophanes as proof (see *idem*, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition"); but none of this material is in Dionysius or Agapius and so is almost certainly not from Theophilus.

[62]I have two small pertinent observations to make. First, the notice of Muḥammad going to Palestine for trade comes from Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 326, which would presumably have been readily available to Theophilus of Edessa, who might then have expanded this notice into an account of Muḥammad's discovery of monotheism. Second, the correspondence between Dionysius and *Chron. Siirt* in article no. 5 of the outline of Theophilus given above would provide confirmation of Dionysius' use of Theophilus' account of Muḥammad if it could be shown that *Chron. Siirt* had access to Theophilus independently of Dionysius. For a comparison and discussion of the two versions of Dionysius account, that of Michael the Syrian and the chronicler of 1234, see Conrad, *Muhammadanea Edessensis*.

[63]This point is explained in the entry on "Theophanes" in this chapter.

decided to claim the caliphate for himself and had his Khurasani troops give allegiance to him. Manṣūr responded by having himself proclaimed caliph in Kufa and despatching Abū Muslim to fight 'Abd Allāh. The former was victorious, but was suspected of revolt by Manṣūr, who therefore had him killed. This entry is recounted with the same order of events by Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius. The latter gives a very full account; Dionysius evidently has the same version before him, but abbreviates it somewhat. Theophanes also has a long account, but the numerous additional details show that it is not the same as that available to Dionysius and Agapius. Nevertheless, there are a number of revealing points of contact between the three chroniclers. All know that Manṣūr was in Mecca when Abū l-'Abbās died, that Abū Muslim engaged 'Abd Allāh near Nisibis, and that he was persuaded by blandishments and ruses to appear before Manṣūr. On balance, then, we might say that this notice is taken from Theophilus, but that Theophanes has it via the Greek continuation. Hereafter the content of Dionysius' chronicle changes appreciably. The actions of Muslim authorities are noted, but only very briefly or only insofar as they impinged upon the Christian population. And Theophanes' account no longer bears any resemblance to that of either Agapius or Dionysius. So it would seem that Theophilus stopped at this point, with the consolidation of the rule of the caliph Manṣūr.

Since he is quoted for a figure of 5197 years for the interval from Adam to Seleucus, Theophilus is usually thought to have made Creation his starting point.[64] But this is hardly cogent, for as an astrologer he would often have been obliged to make chronological calculations, or it could well be that he prefaced his chronography with some such computation.[65] When one examines the content of the *Syriac Common Source*, one is at once struck by its concentration on secular events, and warfare and diplomacy between the emperors and caliphs in particular.[66] This, plus the lack of interest in dates noted above, leads one to speculate whether Theophilus' intention might have been

[64]See the entry on the "Maronite Chronicler" in Chapter 4 above.

[65]Agapius, 455, gives a calculation of the years from Adam before proceeding to relate *amr al-'arab*, but it seems somewhat corrupt.

[66]I give a provisional reconstruction of the *Syriac Common Source* in Excursus C below. Occasionally Theophilus reports such matters as the collapse of a church

to compose a classicising history. This would certainly be in keeping with the impression that we have of him, namely that he was something of a Hellenophile, writing his astrological works in Greek, translating Homer and Galen, and naming his son Deukalion. Moreover, out of the period he covers Theophilus devotes by far the most attention to the events of the last decade, from the murder of Walīd II in 744 to the triumph of the Abbasids in 754, and he states clearly: "I was myself a constant witness of these conflicts and I used to write things down so that none of it escaped me."[67] Thus we have also the element of autopsy which was so important a feature of classicising history.[68] The earliest notice shared by Dionysius and Agapius concerns the revolt against Khusrau and his flight to Byzantium in 589–90, so Theophilus may perhaps have been seeking to continue the *History* of Menander Protector (ended in 582) or John of Epiphaneia (572–91). Any solution will, however, remain conjectural until more work has been done on the sources of Dionysius and Agapius for the pre-Islamic period.

If we cannot be sure of Theophilus' personal ambitions for his composition, we do at least have the report of what someone else thought he was doing. In the preface to his own work Dionysius gives some attention to his predecessors "who have written about earlier times."[69] He reviews chronography and ecclesiastical history, then goes on to suggest that there had recently emerged a third type, namely "narratives (*tash'yātē*) resembling ecclesiastical history." What united such accounts was not their content; of the examples Dionysius cites—Daniel bar Moses of Ṭur 'Abdin, John bar Samuel of the West country, Theophilus of Edessa and Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa—we know that Daniel wrote on church matters,[70] Theophilus on secular events.

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after an earthquake, but there is no ecclesiastical material proper; note especially the attention given to Arab campaigns in Asia Minor.

[67]Quoted by Agapius, 525.

[68]What is lacking is any evidence of that other notable trait of classicising history, the digression. This is also absent, however, from Nicephorus's work and he was certainly striving to write a classicising history (see the entry on him in this chapter).

[69]Dionysius' preface is preserved in Michael 11.XX, 378/357–58.

[70]He is cited by Elias of Nisibis for the election of the patriarch Athanasius Sandalaya (*Chronicle*, 168 = AH 122), the appearance of an unusual star (*ibid.*, 170 = AH 127), the occurrence of an earthquake which destroyed the Jacobite church at Manbij (*ibid.*, 171 = AH 131); and by Dionysius himself regarding the generosity of

Rather they were all distinguished, according to Dionysius, by their failure to maintain either the chronological rigour of the chronicle or the pursuit of causes and interrelationships that characterised ecclesiastical history: "Those whom we have mentioned here set forth their accounts in a compartmentalised and discontinuous fashion (*msaykā'īt wa-mfasqā'īt*), without paying strict heed to chronological accuracy or the order of succession of events (*l-ḥattītūtā d-zabnē aw l-naqīpūtā d-sū'rānē*)." So they were narrative histories, but lacking a chronological or thematic thread.

Though perhaps a little harsh, this is a relatively apt characterisation of Theophilus. It is true that he does present his information in a largely chronological order, but he makes little effort to establish firm dates for each entry. For the seventh century in particular he makes heavy use of anecdotal material: the encounter of Heraclius' brother Theodore with a stylite near Ḥimṣ, Mu'āwiya's demolition of the Colossus of Rhodes, Constans dream that he would lose in a naval engagement with the Arabs in 654, the rebel Shapur and the imperial envoy Sergius at Mu'āwiya's court, the election of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam in 684 and so on. Each of these accounts constitutes a self-sufficient narrative unit bearing little connection with any other, which, as Dionysius says, has the effect of making Theophilus' writing seem somewhat segmented. Only with the description of the overthrow of the Umayyads are we given a more continuous relation where causal links between events are brought out. But this is not really Theophilus' fault; as was pleaded by a contemporary of his, who was also attempting to write a chronicle: "We have traversed many places and not found any accurate composition, only miscellany."[71] If Theophilus failed to produce a comprehensive narrative of events from 630–740, it was for lack of material, not of industry or talent. Despite his disparaging tone Dionysius did make heavy use of Theophilus in his own work, certainly for information, and it is also likely that it played a part in the adoption by him and others of a narrative format in place of the staccato annalistic bulletins which were so much a feature of earlier Syriac chronography.

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the Edessan magnate Athanasius bar Gumaye towards the church, a report which includes a long anecdotal account of how Athanasius came to build a baptistery at Edessa (Michael 11.XVI, 447–49/475–77).

[71] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 146–47.

It is to be hoped that the debt which the genre owes to Theophilus will now begin to be more fully recognised.

The Zuqnin Chronicler

This author receives his appellation from the monastery in north Mesopotamia of which he was a resident.[72] His chronicle is frequently referred to as the "ps.-Dionysius," since it was once attributed to the Jacobite patriarch Dionysius of Tellmaḥre.[73] Almost all the opening preface is missing bar the statement of the author's intention to begin from the Creation of the world and to arrange the material "in such a way that neither the reasoning of the reader nor the hearing of the hearer will be disturbed." Events sacred and profane are presented annalistically with little comment from the author until the reign of Justin II (565–78), after which he seems to have had problems with his sources, as he tells us:

> This chronology (*ḥūshbānā*)—that is to say, this composition (*maktbānūtā*)—begins from the very beginning of Creation and proceeds up to the birth of Abraham and the kingdom of Ninos....In the 42nd year of Ninos the patriarch Abraham was born, as Eusebius testifies, for from him is taken the content of this history up to the time of the believing Constantine. From this point up to Theodosius the Younger [it is taken] from Socrates..., then from Theodosius up to the emperor Justin [it is taken] from the holy John, bishop of Asia, that is the year 885 (573–74). From this point until the present year, which is the year 1086 of Alexander and the year 158 (775) of the Muslims, we have not found [anything] concerning [men's] actions (*dūbbārē*) which is composed as carefully as the ones aforementioned.[74]

[72] *Ibid.*, 205–206, speaks of "our monastery of Zuqnin."

[73] For discussion of the authorship and of the chronicle in general see Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, and Palmer, "Review."

[74] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 145–46. The division made here by the chronicler (→ Constantine, → Theodosius II, → Justin, → today) is the basis for the characterisation of

And indeed it was this deficiency that prompted him to take up his pen:

> Since we have traversed many places and not found any accurate writing, only miscellany (*ellā d-meddem meddem*), we determined to collect and set down in order what we have heard from old men of those things which they saw and came upon, and also those affairs to which we have been witness.[75]

Aware of his own failure to produce an "accurate writing," he excuses himself by saying:

> It does no harm to the discerning and the God-fearing if a date is one or two years too early or too late. Let it be enough for the God-fearing to see the chastisements of former generations and to turn away from evil, lest those chastisments be visited upon them too.[76]

This second preface makes it clear that the ensuing portion of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, known by modern scholars as the fourth part, is the work of one person who has endeavoured to weld together diverse material into an ordered narrative. Conrad has proposed that it divides into four layers, each composed by a different author, but this theory collapses under scrutiny.[77] In the midst of the narrative

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this work by modern scholars as being in four parts. The sources listed (Eusebius, Socrates, John of Ephesus) are, however, only the most major and many others are used; in particular, the *Chronicle* of ps.-Joshua the Stylite seems to be incorporated in full. For a discussion of the sources for the first three parts see Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, 124–36, and *idem*, "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the Third Part of His *Chronicle*."

[75] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 146–47.

[76] *Ibid.*, 147; note that anticipation and refutation of blame for inexactitude in dates etc. is commonly found in historical prefaces (see Riad, *Studies in the Syriac Preface*, 103–104, 107), for example in that of the eleventh-century chronicler Ignatius of Melitene (Michael the Syrian 13.I, 546–47/115).

[77] Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 24–26. He says that in the period AG 1029–60 the author refers to "the present day;" but he only uses the expression "at this time" (*b-hānā zabnā*), i.e. in the same year as the previous event described. He

on Hishām's reign (724–43) there is a brief notice about an earthquake in Syria in December 717, and during the account of Marwān's rule (743–50) there is a short note about stars falling from the sky in January 743.[78] Conrad infers from both occasions a change of author, but in both cases the narrative immediately reverts to the former subject and the style remains the same. It is simply that the notices are very occasionally out of sequence, as is understandable in this part of the chronicle where material is abundant and dates a long way apart.[79] The disjunction noticed by Conrad *ca.* 713–18 is more significant, but not for indicating a change of author, rather because it marks the point at which the compiler is able to supplement the bare chronological records of rulers, patriarchs, battles and natural phenomena with oral sources and material from his own lifetime. And indeed, it is from this point that we are given ever more profuse and detailed information about events in northern Mesopotamia, the chronicler's homeland.

The most obvious indication that the fourth part of the chronicle is the work of a single writer drawing on different sources, rather than of different writers making separate contributions, is that there are several unifying features to this section. The first is found in the very aim of writing, namely to leave a warning for future generations:

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does speak of "us" occasionally, as Conrad says, and once he states that "all these things happened in our days" (*Chron. Zuqnin*, 181), but this simply suggests that he lived through them. Even if an expression such as "the present day" did occur, it could easily be explained by the fact that the chronicler very often cites his sources slavishly without making even obvious emendments (cf. Palmer, "Review," 145). Conrad also argues that the mistranslation of *msawwedē* ("wearers of black," a reference to the Abbasids) as *awkāmē* ("blacks") by someone who further on seems to claim knowledge of Arabic is best accounted for by assuming that the two references belong to different layers of the text. But the author did know what *msawwedē* meant; he says "all their clothes were black and for this reason they were called *msawwedē*, which in the Syriac language is translated *awkāmē*" (*Chron. Zuqnin*, 193–94). The question is why, when he knew the correct sense of the word, he still chose such a rendering.

[78] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 169–71 (AG 1043–1029–1040–1045), 192–96 (AG 1060–1054–1061–1062). The events are also reported by *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 716–18, 743.

[79] E.g. *Ibid.*, 206–207 (AG 1063–1061–1064), 221–22 (AG 1075–1072–1076), 227–28 (AG 1077–1074–1078). Note that the Arab capture of Tyana, included in the narrative on Maslama's acitivities of 716–17 (*ibid.*, 159–60), is also misplaced (all other sources date it between 707 and 711; see *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 707–708).

1. In order to leave a record of this evil time and the bitter oppression which the earth has suffered in our days and times....

2. We wished that those who will come into the world after us might tremble and fear the Lord and walk uprightly before Him, lest He also deliver them, as [He has] us, into the hands of this rapacious wolf.

3. In order to leave some record for those who come into the world after us....

4. About these things I shall speak, about these things I shall tell, and I shall write them for those who [come] after us.[80]

Secondly, there is the use made of Isaiah x.5, which speaks of the Assyrians as the rod of God's wrath sent by Him to castigate His wayward people and which the chronicler frequently cites or alludes to when speaking of Arab rule.[81] Accompanying this is the oft-voiced opinion of our chronicler that his fellow Christians have merited such chastisement. This moralising tone permeates this fourth part, and may be detected even in the cursory pre-713 notices. Thus, regarding 'Abd al-Malik's census in 692, he says: "Thereafter the sons of Hagar began to subject the sons of Aram to Egyptian slavery; but it is our fault: because we sinned, slaves gained authority over us."[82] Finally, there is the concentration on events affecting Mesopotamia, which again, though most noticeable where the chronicle is fuller, is discernable even in the earlier reports. For example, Amida, which was near the author's monastery, features in six entries for the years 622–50.[83]

[80] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 146, 146, 301, 333.

[81] *Ibid.*, 146, 192, 232, 262, 302, 314. Use of Isaiah x.5 and of the Assyrians to refer to Christian enemies is also made by ps.-Joshua and John of Ephesus (then meaning the Persians), two of the Zuqnin chronicler's principal sources. Heavy use of John of Ephesus, to the extent of wholesale plagiarism, is also made by the chronicler when it comes to constructing an account of the mid-eighth-century outbreak of bubonic plague (see Harrak, "Literary Borrowings in the Chronicle of Zuqnin").

[82] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 154. Another feature common to all the fourth part is extensive quotation from the Bible, not merely of the odd phrase as in earlier sections, but of whole passages.

[83] *Ibid.*, 150–52: Cyriacus, bishop of Amida, dies; Heraclius builds church at Amida; Thomas, bishop of Amida, flourishes; patriarch John Sedra is buried at

Up until the year 717, when there is a long description of the Arab siege of Constantinople, the fourth part of the chronicle consists mostly of very short notices, only four being of any length. These concern compulsory baptism of Jews,[84] the Arabs' first civil war,[85] 'Abd al-Malik's census and tax reforms,[86] and the following rather polemical notice on the appearance of Muḥammad and the Arabs:

> The Arabs subdued the land of Palestine as far as the river Euphrates, while the Romans fled and crossed over to the east of the Euphrates, and the Arabs gained authority over them in it (Palestine). The first king was a man from among them by the name of Muḥammad. This man they also called a prophet, because he had turned them away from cults of all kinds and taught them that there was one God, Maker of Creation. Also he laid down laws for them, because they had been firm adherents of the worship of demons and adoration of idols and particularly of trees. And since he had shown them the one God, and they had conquered the Romans in battle under his direction, and he had appointed laws for them according to their desire, they called him prophet and messenger (*rasūlā*) of God. They are a very covetous and carnal people, and any law, whether pre-

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Amida; John of the Arabs is buried at Amida; Simeon, bishop of Edessa, dies at Amida.

[84] *Ibid.*, 148–49. The author seems to be referring to the same incident narrated by the *Doctrina Jacobi* (see the entry thereon in Chapter 3 above), but places it in Palestine during the reign of Phocas instead of in North Africa in the time of Heraclius.

[85] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 152–53. Writers active in Palestine and Syria generally accord 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib no official status and simply say that Mu'āwiya defeated him at Ṣiffin (see the entries on "Short Chronologies" and "Latin Texts" in this chapter, those on the "Maronite Chronicler" and "George of Resh'aina" in Chapter 4 and that on the *Jewish Apocalypse on the Umayyads* in Chapter 8 above), but the Zuqnin chronicler says that 'Alī (though oddly calling him 'Abbās) was considered "king" in Mesopotamia and the East (thus also *Chron. 819*, 12) and that the fighting between him and Mu'āwiya lasted a full five years.

[86] *Ibid.*, 154. Note his observation: "From this time the poll-tax (*gzītā*) began to be levied on the skulls of adult males. . . .Up till this time kings had levied tribute (*madattā*) on the land, not from men."

> scribed by Muḥammad or another God-fearing person, that is not set in accord with their desire, they neglect and abandon. But what is in accord with their will and complements their desires, though it be instituted by one contemptible among them, they hold to it, saying: "This was appointed by the prophet and messenger of God, and moreover it was charged to him thus by God." He governed them for seven years.[87]

Whereas this period from 587 to 717 takes up only ten pages of printed text, the following six decades occupy an impressive 240 pages and constitute a rich repository of information for the history of eighth-century Mesopotamia, much of it not found in any other chronicle and to a large extent based on first-hand experience. Of course, from a man who closes his preface with the warning: "Take heed and fear the Lord your God, lest He visit upon you these same afflictions," one must expect that he will be particularly concerned to enumerate the evils perpetrated by the Christians and the divine punishments meted out to them. And indeed many of his pages are taken up with the description of plagues, natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, famines etc.), brigandage and invasions, tyranny of governors and fiscal oppression. But amid this are also revealing accounts on the Kharijites, religious pretenders, the social structure of northern Mesopotamia and the intellectual life of its monasteries, Abbasid taxation policies and the decisions of certain caliphs.[88]

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[87] *Chron. Zuqnin*, 149–50 (AG 932). Further on (*ibid.*, 299) the chronicler calls Muḥammad "their guide and legislator" (*mhaddyānhōn w-sā'em nāmōsayhōn*). Note that this image of Muḥammad as a lawgiver is very common; cf. Sebeos, XXX (tr. Macler, 95); John bar Penkaye, 146–47/175 (tr. Brock, 61); Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 6a; *Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 494; *Chron. Siirt* CI, *PO* 13, 600.

[88] E.g. this chronicle is the earliest Christian source to refer to Yazīd II's edict against images (*ibid.*, 163). For instances of the topics mentioned in this paragraph see Ishaq, "Al-ta'rīkh al-Zūqnīnī;" *idem*, "The Significance of the Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius." Note also that this text contains the first non-Muslim literary reference to the term "Muslim," written *mashlmānā* (*Chron. Zuqnin*, 195); before this the term only features in an inscription of AH 123/741 (Ory, "Les graffiti umayyades de 'Ayn al-Ğarr," 100) and as the name of a governor (*Meslem*) in the late seventh century (*Nessana Papyri*, no. 58; cf. *ibid.*, no. 94).

The Ehnesh Inscription

This inscription covers three limestone blocks of the south wall of the S. Sergius church at Ehnesh in northern Syria,[89] and chronicles a series of catastrophes for the local Christian inhabitants:

> In the year 309 the Messiah came to the world,
>
> And in the year 930[90] the Arabs came to the land,
>
> And in the year 968 there was a battle at Ṣiffin (*Ṣefē*)
>
> And in the year 995 there was a great famine,
>
> And in the year 1005 there was a darkness,
>
> And in the year 1088 the vale of Mar'ash entered into captivity in the territory of the Romans by reason of our sins,
>
> And in the year 342, 24 March, day 6, the Messiah suffered,
>
> And in the year 1091 the commander of the faithful (*amīrā da-mhaymnē*)[91] came and entered as far as Gihon, and he returned and ordered that the churches be torn down and that the Tanūkh become Muslims (*nhaggrūn*).

The notices on Christ seem, in both cases, intended to serve as a counterpoint to the notice that follows. The coming of Christ and the joy it brought contrasts with the coming of the Arabs and the misery it brought; the passion of Christ entailed salvation, the appearance of Mahdī brought enslavement. One also suspects that there was some irony intended in the juxtaposition of Messiah and Mahdī (which means "saviour" in Arabic); the reason for using the positive term "commander of the faithful" is not obvious. Though it is common in Arabic inscriptions and writings, such a religious epithet was usually eschewed

[89] On the east wall of the same building is another inscription which comprises quotes from Psalms xliv.5, xxxiv.6, xcii.15.

[90] A later hand has corrected this to 933. For the significance of the date see the entry on "Short Chronology *ad annum* 775" in this chapter.

[91] "Mahdī" is written on an adjacent course of stone, either added in explanation or accidentally omitted in the first place.

by Christian writers in favour of some more secular term, most often "king."[92]

Dionysius of Tellmaḥre

Dionysius came from a wealthy and well-established Edessan family. He studied at the monasteries of Qenneshre and of Mar Jacob at Kayshum before being elevated to the leadership of the Jacobites in 818, which position he held until 845.[93] At the request of John, metropolitan of Dara, he consented to undertake what others, despite his exhortations, had declined to do, namely "to set down in writing for the generations which are to come the events which have occurred [in the past] and which are occurring in our own time."[94] The finished product was described by a later chronicler as follows:

> He composed it in two parts and in sixteen books, each part containing eight books divided into chapters. He wrote it at the request of John, metropolitan of Dara. In this chronicle are included the times, a period of 260 years, from the beginning of the reign of Maurice—that is, from the year 894 of the Greeks (582)—until the year 1154 (842) in which there died Theophilus, emperor of the Romans, and Abū Isḥāq (Mu'taṣim), king of the Arabs.[95]

His division into parts—one devoted to church history, the other to secular history—and books and chapters indicates a sophisticated approach which differs from that found in earlier Syriac historiography. In his preface Dionysius characterises his work as a *pragmateia*, a term

[92]Though "commander of the faithful" is used in *Chron. Zuqnin*, 174, 258, 282, in the *Life* of Willibald (see the entry thereon in Chapter 6 above), and in *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §49, which depends upon a Syrian source. The inscriptions are discussed at length by Palmer, "Messiah and Mahdi;" see also *idem*, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 71–74.

[93]Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, discusses the church and its relationship with the state in Dionysius' time and also Dionysius' own contribution as patriarch.

[94]Michael the Syrian 10.XX, 378/358 (Dionysius' preface).

[95]*Ibid.* 12.XXI, 544/111.

used by classical writers to mean a treatise strictly and systematically formulated, and he distances himself from those who "composed their narratives in a summary and fragmented fashion without preserving either chronological accuracy or the order of succession of events." In contrast to such writings, he says: "Our aim is to bring together in this book everything which our feeble self is able, with God's assistance, to collect, and to ascertain the accuracy [of each report] as attested by many persons worthy of credence, to select [the best version] and then to write it down in [correct] order."[96]

Bar a few fragments Dionysius' achievement unfortunately does not survive.[97] Much can, however, be recovered by comparing the writings of those who later drew upon it, notably the Jacobite patriarch Michael the Syrian (1166–99) and an anonymous Edessan chronicler of the early thirteenth century.[98] These two authors were compiling their chronicles within a decade of one another and would seem to have been working independently.[99] Moreover, both explicitly cite Dionysius a number of times,[100] and Michael implies that he was their only sub-

[96] *Ibid.* 11.XVIII, 454/487–88. This is a literal rendering; the translation of Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 94–95, makes it clearer: "Weak as I am, my aim is as follows: To collect with the help of God whatever information I can find and to put it all in this book in good order, selecting the most reliable version of events attested by the majority of trustworthy witnesses and writing them down here in the correct sequence." For more detailed discussion of the format of Dionysius' chronicle see Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 28–39; Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 85–104.

[97] These fragments are edited and translated by Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, 130–44.

[98] The terminal colophon states that the author completed the civil history in AG 1514/1203 and the ecclesiastical history on 1 February 1515/1204 (*Chron. 1234*, 2.213–14, 340). As we have it, the work breaks off mid-sentence *ca.* 1234 and hence the work is generally referred to as the *Chronicle of 1234*. Presumably another writer continued it, probably to *ca.* 1240. A few very brief citations from Dionysius are also given by Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 1.174–80 (AH 138, 140, 142, 146, 152–53). See further Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, 14–29.

[99] Otherwise it is difficult to explain why each of them will on different occasions have a more detailed account than the other. For these two authors and their chronicles see, in addition to the survey works cited at the beginning of this section, Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien. Introduction*, and Fiey's introduction to the translation of the second volume of the *Chronicle of 1234*.

[100] *Chron. 1234*, 2.17–20, 257, 267; for the numerous references of Michael to Dionysius see Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 30 and n. 87 thereto.

stantial common source for the period 582–842. We can, therefore, be reasonably sure that every notice common to both writers derives from Dionysius. However, neither of these two pass Dionysius on to us intact, rather both add, omit, abbreviate,[101] rephrase and reshape.[102] Michael breaks up the text of Dionysius and distributes the material over three columns which are devoted to ecclesiastical affairs, natural phenomena and civil history. The chronicler of 1234 has one continuous narrative until the time of Constantine, then divides his notices into secular and church history, relegating the latter to the end. Michael's ecclesiastical column is extensive, but much of this is treated as civil history by the chronicler of 1234, whose church history is relatively small.[103] It seems likely that Dionysius, given his position as patriarch, would have deemed his ecclesiastical history the more important and so given it greater space, but it is difficult to say for sure.

In the preface to his work Dionysius states that he would take from Theophilus of Edessa "only those parts which are reliable and do not deviate from the truth." The reason for this proviso is the rivalry in their faith, Dionysius being a Jacobite and Theophilus a Maronite. In reality, however, Dionysius conveys to us more of Theophilus than either Theophanes or Agapius, albeit only through the filters of Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*. Most of the notices in Michael's civil history column for the period 630–750 have a counterpart in Theophanes and Agapius, and so most clearly represent Theophilus; but many of the notices on natural phenomena and almost all of the ecclesiastical reports derive from elsewhere.[104] The *Chronicle of 1234* has often been thought

[101]At different times each will have a longer account than the other; since historical information about the seventh and eighth centuries was scarce, it is unlikely that either was able to add new details, so they must both at times be abbreviating.

[102]An example is given by Brock, "Syriac Life of Maximus," 337–40, who compares their accounts of Maximus' career.

[103]E.g. Cyrus' part in the conquest of Egypt (see the entry on the "Conquest of Egypt" in Chapter 13 below), demons at Qenneshre (see the entry on "Daniel of Edessa" in Chapter 4 above), the false Tiberius (see *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 737). Though there are occasions when the reverse is true; e.g. the notice on the Arab attack on the convent of Simeon the Stylite is in the ecclesiastical part of *Chron. 1234*, 2.260, but in the civil section of Michael 11.VI, 417/422.

[104]Michael also reports a number of censuses, seemingly not drawn from Theophilus; e.g. *ca.* 668 Abū l-A'war made a census of Christian labourers/soldiers

to best preserve Dionysius, and so Theophilus. This is true to the extent that it often quotes Dionysius in full and does not break up the narrative structure into subject categories like Michael. Yet on closer study it proves to be quite an eclectic work. For example, it dislikes short notices, preferring to have a paragraph's worth before accepting a report, and so omits most entries on natural phenomena. And for the Arab conquests and the first Arab civil war it turns to Muslim sources, not merely supplementing, but borrowing wholesale.[105]

It is evident that Dionysius produced a comprehensive and carefully structured work. The church history takes centre stage, coming first and comprising a formidable array of documents; the secular history follows, smaller in size, but great efforts were made to assemble as much material as possible. The two parts, assigned eight books each, were then cross-referenced and otherwise linked by glimpses forward and flashbacks, and the whole was set forth in a fluid and florid Syriac diction.[106] For Islamicists it is valuable as the best witness to the *Syriac Common Source* attributable to Theophilus of Edessa and for revealing to us something of the life and conditions of the Christians, who still constituted a majority of the population of the Near East in Dionysius' day.

The Chronicles of 819 and 846

The former of these two texts extends from the birth of Christ to the consecration of the patriarch Dionysius of Tellmaḥre in 818–19. The large number of notices concerning Qartmin monastery suggest it was written by a monk of that establishment, presumably in or soon after 819. For the earlier part of the chronicle the principal source used is the

for the first time (Michael 11.XII, 435/450); in AG 1009/698 'Aṭīya made a census of foreigners (*ibid.* 11.XVI, 447/473; *Chron. 819*, 13).

[105]This is important to note; I had myself, taking over received wisdom that the *Chronicle of 1234* accurately represented Dionysius, assumed the Arabic material was inserted by Dionysius (see Hoyland, "Arabic, Syriac and Greek Historiography"). But since not a single item of it is found in Michael, this cannot be so and it must have become included in the *Chronicle of 1234* at a later date.

[106]See Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 85–89, for references and further discussion.

Chronicle of Edessa, which ended in 540. Thereafter notices become fuller, more than half the work being devoted to the seventh and eighth centuries, and the source is most likely the archives of the monastery of Qartmin.[107] The *Chronicle of 846* goes back to Creation and so has a broader scope, but for Islamic times it relies almost exclusively on the *Chronicle of 819*, merely appending a notice that John of Mar Zakkai monastery became patriarch in 846.[108]

The focus of the *Chronicle of 819* is fairly evenly balanced between ecclesiastical and secular affairs. For the seventh and eighth centuries the latter means the actions of the Muslim rulers, and no attempt is made to document the succession of Byzantine emperors—not even Heraclius is mentioned. After AG 1039/728 notices are less evenly distributed than before:

AG 1045–54a (733–43): Only church affairs (5 notices).

AG 1054b–65 (743–54): Only Muslim affairs (3 notices).

AG 1066–70 (755–59): Only church affairs (3 notices).

AG 1073 (762): The patriarch John dies; the caliph Manṣūr assembles the bishops at Baghdad to resolve the succession.[109]

AG 1074[110] (763): Account of a religious imposter in Mesopotamia, named Maruta.

AG 1080[111] (769): David of Dara dies; Mūsā ibn Muṣ'ab is appointed governor of Mesopotamia; harshness of his rule.

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[107]Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 9–13.

[108]Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 76–82.

[109]Michael the Syrian puts John's death in 1074 (11.XXV, 476/525) and Manṣūr's meeting with the bishops in 1076 (11.XXVI, 476–77/527–28).

[110]*Chron. Zuqnin*, 282–89, has Maruta appear in 1081.

[111]*Chron. Zuqnin* continues to mention David of Dara until 1084 (*ibid.*, 319–20), and it is in this year that it places Mūsā ibn Muṣ'ab's appointment (*ibid.*, 289). According to Forand, "Governors of Mosul," 94–96, Mūsā was governor in AH 156–59/772–75 and 166–67/784–85; clearly the former term is meant here, for *Chron. 819* says Mūsā was in office three years, and its next notice concerns Mahdī's accession in 775. Hence, this date should probably be AG 1083 (thus Michael the Syrian 11.XXVI, 476/526) or 1084.

Undated entry on Manṣūr's death (775) and the convening of a synod of 36 bishops at Serug by the patriarch George.

List of Abbasid caliphs from Mahdī's death (785) to the fourth Arab civil war "when the whole world was without a leader for fifteen years" (813–27).

AG 1100–30 (788–819): List of Jacobite patriarchs.[112]

It has been proposed, reasonably, that changes of author are detectable at 728–33 and at 775–85.[113] A few of the notices on Muslim affairs are also found, often with similar wording, in the *Syriac Common Source*, to be assigned to Theophilus of Edessa writing in the 750s, and these must therefore derive from the author of 728–33. Though they are few in number, these items are precious for being from the pen of an early eighth-century writer.[114]

Elias of Nisibis (d. 1049)

Elias bar Shinaya was metropolitan of Nisibis for almost half a century (1008–49) and produced what is now the only surviving major Nestorian chronography. It consists of two parts, the first containing chronological lists of Biblical figures, rulers and patriarchs, followed by a record of notable events for each year from 25–1018 (the beginning

[112]Headed by a notice, presumably included to connect with the foregoing list of caliphs, erroneously dating Ma'mūn's accession to AG 1100/788–89.

[113]Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle of 846," 570; Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives," 23–24. Brooks, "Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers," 581, notes that *Chron. 846* ceases to have notices in common with Theophanes and Michael the Syrian after 728.

[114]See *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 636 (battle of Yarmuk), 639–40 (subjugation of Mesopotamia), 644 (killing of 'Umar by an Indian slave), 656 (death of 'Uthmān and civil war), 660–61 (death of 'Alī and accession of Mu'āwiya), 679 (earthquake and partial collapse of Edessa's church), 683–85 ('Abd al-Malik's peace with Justinian), 696–97 ('Abd al-Malik's minting of aniconic coins, the drowning of the bandit Shabīb), 693 ('Abd al-Malik's slaughter of pigs), 703 ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik's campaign against Byzantium and rebuilding of Mopsuestia), 716–18 (siege of Constantinople, earthquake), 720 (Yazīd's destruction of images), 724 (Hishām's building), 726 (Maslama's capture of Cappadocian Caesarea), 730 (Maslama attacks the Khazars).

is missing), while the second part is devoted to detailed calendrical tables and problems of chronology. The work is bilingual, in Syriac and Arabic, and is preserved in a manuscript written in 1019. Whereas the Arabic appears in about five different hands, the Syriac is uniform, perhaps by Elias himself, which suggests that it is the primary text and the Arabic entries were compiled by a number of scribes, probably assistants of Elias. For the annalistic entries sources are quoted, and for the notices concerning early Islam these are chiefly a chronological outline of Muslim history (*yūbāl zabnē* [*d-malkē*]*d-ṭayyāyē*) and a historical work by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d. 847).[115] These, however, add nothing new to the classical picture of Islam.

Latin Texts[116]

Eusebius' *Chronicle* in the translation of Jerome was continued/imitated in the West by Prosper and Hydatius in the fifth century, and by Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar in the sixth. The latter writer was one of the first to rehabilitate barbarian kings, to present them as protagonists rather than antagonists, as defenders and preservers rather than as usurpers and despoilers. Thus Christian world history was extended forwards into a new age of "gentile" kingdoms; Western Constantines emerged and replica Byzantiums were created. This is true of Isidore of Seville's *History of the Goths*, Fredegar's account of the Franks and Paul the Deacon's *History of the Langobards*. And it was now the Muslims who were the infidel invaders. Writers not living under Muslim occupation are generally hostile,[117] but they almost never pass comment upon the Muslims beyond brief notices about raids

[115]The *yūbāl zabnē* ("succession of the times"), if it is the same work, is used AH 1–90 then once for AH 317. On Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī see *EI* ^{2}, *s.v.*.

[116]Latin historical texts are surveyed by Eggert, "Lateinische Historiographie vom 7. bis 9. Jahrhundert," and those of Spanish provenance by Diaz y Diaz, "La historiografia hispana desde la invasion arabe hasta el año 1000" (at 314–19 he makes some general comments about the two chronicles to be discussed here).

[117]This can normally be deduced by the odd offhand comment; e.g. "the madness of the Saracens," "they blasphemed with their foul mouths against God and our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles" (Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 64, citing the work of this title, *s.a.* 847); "the Arabs who were persecuting the church of God," "the derisive calamity of the Chaldeans," "deceived by the Muhammadan

and truces. For those who lived in Andalusia, Muslim-governed Spain, however, it was necessary in some manner to come to terms with the situation and to give some explanation of events.

The Byzantine–Arab Chronicle of 741 and the Hispanic Chronicle of 754

The former of these two texts is a somewhat odd composition. Its content is as follows:

1. Spanish affairs (9%): six cursory references to Visigothic kings (§§1–3, 5, 9, 14), dated according to the Spanish era, from the death of Reccared in 602 to the accession of Suinthila in 621. Dating by the Spanish era stops after 640. The conquest of Spain is only mentioned amongst other triumphs of Walīd's reign (§36), but there is an entry devoted to the battle of Toulouse in 721 (§42).

2. Byzantine affairs (29%): brief notices on the emperors from the death of Phocas in 610 to the accession of Leo III in 717; only Heraclius receives any substantial treatment (62% of Byzantine notices; 18% of all notices).

3. Arab affairs (62%): this is the major component of the chronicle and comprises entries on each ruler from Muḥammad until Yazīd II (720–24), giving the length and events of their reigns and often some personal description.

The initial references to Visigothic kings are drawn from Isidore of Seville's *History of the Goths*, but it can hardly be regarded as a continuation of Isidore since it concerns itself thereafter only with Eastern and no Western rulers. One might rather see the work as a continuation of John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, which, as a contribution to the universal chronicle tradition, had a more Eastern focus than Isidore's history and

rite" (Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 168, 175, citing the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, §§10-11, 25).

ended in the reign of Reccared, with whose death the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle* begins. Moreover, both place the Byzantine emperors in a numerical scheme that goes back to Augustus.[118] But the almost total absence of Spanish material, which John of Biclar does include in some measure, makes impossible any strict alignment with the Spanish historiographical tradition.

The second distinctive feature of the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle* is its favourable attitude towards the Arab caliphs, and not only towards the more renowned like Mu'āwiya and 'Abd al-Malik. Thus, though noting that he had little success in war, it characterises Yazīd I as:

> A most pleasant man and deemed highly agreeable by all the peoples subject to his rule. He never, as is the wont of men, sought glory for himself because of his royal rank, but lived as a citizen along with all the common people (§28).[119]

The chronicler evidently relies upon an Eastern source, and this must have been composed in Syria, since the Umayyad caliphs are each described in a relatively positive vein, all reference to 'Alī is omitted, Mu'āwiya II is presented as a legitimate and uncontested ruler (§29),[120] and the rebel Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab is labelled "a font of wickedness"

[118]That the text presents itself as a continuation of John of Biclar was noticed by its first editor, Florez, who named it *Incerti auctoris additio ad Joannem Biclarensem*, and was signalled more recently by Diaz y Diaz, "La transmisión textual del Biclarense," 66–67. For an introduction to John of Biclar (wr. 590s) and Isidore (wr. 620s) see Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 1–27.

[119]One might compare this with the short biographies of caliphs given by Muslim histories at the end of the ruler's reign along with the report of their death. A good example is that drafted for Walīd I, preserved in Ṭabarī, 2.1271, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, 4.424 (both citing 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, d. 843): "In the view of the people of Syria, Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik was the most excellent of their caliphs. He built mosques—the mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Medina—set up pulpits, was bountiful to the people and gave to the lepers, telling them not to beg from the people. To every cripple he gave a servant and to every blind person a guide. During his rule extensive conquests were achieved: Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr conquered Andalus, Qutayba conquered Kashgar and Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim conquered Hind."

[120]Mu'āwiya II (683–84) was not recognised in Mesopotamia; of non-Muslim sources only *Jewish Apocalypse on the Umayyads*, 178, likewise composed in the west of the Arab realm, records him. See Nöldeke, "Zur Geschichte der Omai-

(§41). The *Hispanic Chronicle* also makes use of this Eastern source, and a comparison between the two Latin texts makes clear that it must have dealt with both Arab and Byzantine rulers—though the latter much more briefly—and was more extensive than either of its transmitters, both of which abbreviate it, at times substantially.[121] One would expect it to be a Greek work, since that was the usual language of exchange between East and West, and there are a few parallels between this Eastern source and Byzantine chronicles.[122] Yet as regards Arab rulers no Greek source displays such a positive attitude towards them as the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle*. Dubler suggested it was written by a Spanish convert to Islam, but no Muslim would portray the rise of Islam as a rebellion, and surely no convert would refrain from passing some comment upon his newly adopted faith.[123] The Eastern source of the Latin texts reports many of the same events and halts at the same point (*ca.* 750) as the *Syriac Common Source* of Theophanes, Agapius and Dionysius of Tellmaḥre, and it is tempting to postulate that the Spanish chroniclers are dependent on the same Greek translation of this Syriac work as was used by Theophanes. Yet there are very few close parallels between the two, and both have material not found in the other.

A brief comment is required concerning the date of the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle*. The concluding notice is as follows:

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jaden," 684–85, 689–90. Buk, "Zur ältesten christlichen Chronographie," argues that, since the murder of Marwān in May 685 is not mentioned, the author is pro-Marwanid, but relies on a pro-Sufyanid source for events before the mid-680s, and hence the inclusion of Mu'āwiya II.

[121]Such a comparison is attempted in Excursus B below, where the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle* is translated in full.

[122]Parallels are indicated and sources discussed by Dubler, "La crónica arábigo–bizantina de 741," 298–333, who, however, exaggerates both the similarities with other chronicles and the number of sources that would be circulating in Byzantium and Spain in the seventh century. In the opinion of Nöldeke, "Epimetrum," the Eastern source was composed in Greek by a Jacobite of Syria. An additional argument in favour of a Greek intermediary is the similarity between the two Latin texts and the Greek *Short Chron. 818* in the rendering of Arab names, though the Greek renderings may well be derived from Syriac. Such exchange was, however, minimal at this time (see Mango, "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIIIe siècle").

[123]Dubler, "La crónica arábigo–bizantina de 741," 331; further objections are given by Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval*, 55 n. 2.

> Then Yazīd, king of the Saracens, his fourth year having unfolded, departed from this life, leaving the rule to his brother, Hishām by name; and he determined that after his brother the one born of his (Yazīd's) own seed, named Walīd, should rule (§43).

This takes us only to 724 and no later event is narrated, nor is the length of Hishām's reign given.[124] It is because the entry on Leo III's accession contains the remark "he took up the sceptre for 24 years" that the text is associated with the year 741. But this suggests that the chronicler had intended to proceed further. The notices on Arab affairs in the *Hispanic Chronicle* carry on in much the same vein until *ca.* 750, concluding with the accession to power of the Abbasids, and it is simpler to assume that the author is still relying on the same Eastern source rather than to posit some other Eastern source for the period 724–50. One wonders, then, whether we do not have the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle* in an apocopated form and that it too originally continued until 750.[125]

The *Hispanic Chronicle* is a relatively straightforward affair. It follows in the footsteps of John of Biclar, for the scope of both is Mediterranean-wide but with an Iberian focus, and both treat matters ecclesiastical and secular. The author, an Andalusian cleric, generally disparages the emirs of Spain and makes clear his antipathy towards the invaders: "Even if every limb were transformed into a tongue it would be beyond human nature to express the ruin of Spain and its many and great evils" (§45). Since it uses the same Eastern source as the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle*, its entries on the Arab caliphs are generally favourable. But whereas the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle* sim-

[124]Collins, *Arab Conquest of Spain*, 55, infers that the text must date to 744 or that the final notice was added later, not realising that the accession of Walīd II after Hishām (d. 743) was pre-arranged by Yazīd II. Collins' discussion of the text (*ibid.*, 53–57) is nevertheless very helpful.

[125]Though the observation that "it is a descendant of the son of the latter (Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam) who holds their leadership up till now in our times" (§31) suggests that the chronicler is writing while the Marwanids are still in power, unless the reference is to the fact that Spain was governed by a descendant of Marwān (the first Umayyad king in Spain was 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, ruled 755–88).

ply relays the Eastern source, abbreviating but not polemicising, the *Hispanic Chronicle* often adds a pejorative remark or omits the notice altogether if it is too positive, as with that on Muḥammad.[126]

Greek Texts[127]

We have no extant Greek historical text composed between 630 and 780. Some recording of events must have gone on—for example, there is the common source(s) of Nicephorus and Theophanes for the years 668–769—but it is certainly true to say that historiography was at a low ebb during this period. The first signs of a revival of activity in this field that we may discern come from a certain George, whose work is described by his continuator, Theophanes:

> The most blessed Father George, who had also been personal assistant (*synkellos*) of Tarasius (784–806), the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, a man of distinction and great learning, after he had perused and thoroughly investigated many chronographers and historians, composed with all accuracy a succinct chronicle from Adam down to Diocletian, the Roman emperor who persecuted the Christians. He made a very exact study of the dates, reconciled their divergences, corrected them and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded the lives and dates of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted, with their dates, the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, both

[126]Since it represents the earliest Spanish view of the Arab conquest and rule of the peninsula, this text has received considerable attention to date. See especially Pereira, *Crónica mozárabe de 754*; Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval*, 19–27; Collins, *Arab Conquest of Spain*, 57–65; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 28–45.

[127]Greek historical texts are surveyed by Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 219–408; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1.243–504; Scott, "Byzantine Chronicle Writing: 2. After Malalas;" Rochow, "Chronographie."

> those who had tended the church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy.[128]

George states himself that he was working on his *Chronographia* in the year 810,[129] and from certain topographical references we can deduce that he was at that time based in Palestine, at one of the monasteries in the Judaean desert.[130] Illness prevented him from continuing up until his own time, as he had originally intended to do,[131] but a number of his slightly younger contemporaries took up this challenge, so ensuring that we do have some view of seventh and eighth-century Byzantine history, albeit a rather patchy one.

Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818)

Theophanes was born in 760 to noble and rich parents. His father, governor of the region by the Aegean Sea, died while his son was still young. As heir to extensive estates in Bithynia and a considerable fortune, Theophanes spent his youth in "hunting and riding" and married a woman of comparable wealth. He entered imperial service with the rank of groom (*strator*) and was assigned the task of superintending the rebuilding of the fortifications at Cyzicus. He would undoubtedly have risen to high office, but decided to renounce his property and become a monk. He established his wife at a convent, while he founded a

[128]Theophanes, 3 (tr. Mango, "preface"). George Syncellus was disdained by early scholars, then for a long time neglected, but he has recently been the object of a number of more appreciative studies: Huxley, "On the Erudition of George the Synkellos;" Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?;" Adler, *Time Immemorial*, esp. 132–231; Ševčenko, "The Search for the Past in Byzantium," 280–83.

[129]George Syncellus, *Chronographia*, 389 (= Mosshammer, 244): "the present year 6302."

[130]Thus regarding Rachel's tomb situated between Jerusalem and Bethlehem he says (*ibid.*, 200–201 [= Mosshammer, 122]): "I often saw her sarcophagus, which lies above ground, as I was on my way in the direction of Bethlehem and the so-called Old Laura of S. Chariton." Other examples are given by Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?," 13 n. 16.

[131]George Syncellus, *Chronographia*, 10 (= Mosshammer, 6); this is quoted in full in the following entry on Theophanes.

monastery on the island of Kalonymos and spent six years there practising calligraphy. He later oversaw the construction of another monastery at Agros in Bithynia, where he remained for much of his life. When he refused to approve the iconoclastic policies of Leo V (813–20), he was placed under guard and then exiled, but died 23 days later on 12 March 818.[132]

In his fiftieth year Theophanes fell ill with a disease of the kidney and was confined to his bed for the rest of his life.[133] Shortly thereafter he was entrusted by his friend George Syncellus with the materials (*aphormai*) necessary to continue the *Chronographia* that George had begun. He makes this clear in the preface to his own work, having first given a description of the achievement of George (cited above):

> Since, however, he (George) was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion, but, as I have said, had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord, he bequeathed to me, who was his close friend, the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing. As for me, not being unaware of my lack of learning and my limited culture, I declined to do this inasmuch as the undertaking was above my powers. He, however, begged me very much not to shrink from it and leave the work unfinished, and so forced me to take it in hand. Being thus constrained by my obedience to him to undertake a task above my powers, I expended an uncommon amount of labour. For I, too, after seeking out to the best of my ability and examining many books, have written down accurately—as best I could—this chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael (811–13) and his son Theophylact, namely the reigns of the emperors and

[132]This paragraph is drawn from the two main sources for Theophanes' life: a panegyric by S. Theodore the Studite, probably delivered in 821 upon the deposition of Theophanes' body in his monastery, and a biography by Methodius, future patriarch of Constantinople (843–47), written before 832 (see Efthymiadis, "Le panégyrique de S. Théophane," 259–60).

[133]When called to Constantinople he had to be taken in a litter (*epi skimpodos*).

> the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates. I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the actions of the ancients derives no small benefit from so doing.[134]

It is not obvious what were the *aphormai* that George had pressed upon Theophanes, but it has been argued convincingly by Mango that they constituted almost the whole of what goes under the name of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, and that Theophanes himself did little beyond a certain amount of redaction and the verification of some facts and calculations.[135] The most cogent arguments for this are that Theophanes is presented in his biography as "lacking a formal education" and, for the period of the *Chronographia*'s composition (810–14), as "bed-ridden and motionless," and so incapable on both counts of undertaking the extensive research necessary for such a major project. Moreover, George, who had spent much time in Palestine, was better placed to gather information on Eastern affairs, the prominence of which are so much a feature of the *Chronographia*, and that he intended to write on this is stated in the preface to his own work:

> Taking the greater part of my material from them (the Bible, the apocrypha and the "more famous historians"), except for a few events which happened in our own times, I shall attempt to produce a kind of synopsis..., I mean about the various kings and the number of priests, prophets, apostles, martyrs and teachers..., collecting all of this as

[134]Theophanes, 3–4 (tr. Mango, "preface").

[135]Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?;" *idem* and Scott, *Theophanes*, lv. For Theophanes' sources see Pigulevskaja, "Theophanes' Chronographia and the Syriac Chronicles;" Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty;" Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, lxxiv–xcv.

> best as I can from the aforementioned historians. And above all I shall describe to the best of my ability the God-hated testament that was set forth against Christ and our nation by the Idumeans in their tabernacles and the Ishmaelites, who are persecuting the people of the Spirit and are devising that apostasy which the blessed Paul had prophesied for the last days (2 Thessalonians ii.3), down to the present year 6300 from the creation of the world, indiction 1 (808).[136]

Certainly Mango's theory would explain two rather odd facts about Theophanes' *Chronographia*: its annalistic format, which could then be seen as a borrowing from the Syriac tradition adopted by George while in Palestine, and the rather poorly edited condition of the text, in which differences in style and the spelling of names from one page to the next are allowed to stand.[137]

Since he is attempting to write a universal chronicle, Theophanes gives information on both Byzantine and Arab affairs. For the latter he is almost entirely dependent upon Theophilus of Edessa for the period 630–750. Even after this date, however, Theophanes continues to narrate events occurring in Muslim-ruled lands, until *ca.* 780. Either he made use of another chronicle for these three decades or, far more likely, he had at his disposal a continuation of Theophilus. The preponderance of material concerning northern Syria suggests that the continuator was from that region, and probably from Ḥimṣ, which features in four of the additional notices.[138] Most of the very few entries in Theophanes for the period 630–750 that are not from Theophilus are also concerned

[136]George Syncellus, *Chronographia*, 10 (= Mosshammer, 6).

[137]Examples are given by Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, lxii–lxiii, which consist of disagreement between text and rubric, repetitions of the same events, the appearance of same persons and places under variant names, sundry confusions and inconsistencies.

[138]Theophanes, 427 (anti-Abbasid rebellion near Ḥimṣ), 429 (Ḥimṣ captured by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī), 431 (head of John the Baptist moved to Ḥimṣ), 452–53 (anti-Christian actions in Ḥimṣ). Brooks, "Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers," 587, suggested a Palestinian author on the basis of the frequency of reports from that province, but any monk could be expected to comment upon events in the Holy Land and many would have spent time there. For this point and the north Syrian provenance of Theophilus' continuator see Conrad, "Capture of Arwad," 336–38.

with Syria, so it is likely that this continuator was a redactor as well, inserting the occasional notice within the text of Theophilus.[139] Theophanes was no scholar and had spent all his life under Byzantine rule, so he must have received this revised Theophilus in Greek. The addition of notices on the succession of the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch in the years 742–56 imply that the continuator/redactor was himself a Melkite clergyman, and so plausibly familiar with Greek as well as Syriac. This makes it likely that he was responsible for both the translation of Theophilus' chronicle into Greek and for its updating.[140] When compared to Agapius and Dionysius, it becomes immediately apparent that Theophilus, as he appears in Theophanes, has been substantially abbreviated and his notices have sometimes been amalgamated, thus creating a causal link between events which seem originally to have been unconnected.[141] This compression is probably a consequence of Theophanes' bias for Byzantine affairs and should not be attributed to the continuator.[142]

Patriarch Nicephorus (d. 828)

Nicephorus, a native of Constantinople and its patriarch during the years 806–15, chiefly authored theological works, but he is also credited with two historical compositions.[143] The first, entitled *Chronographikon syntomon* ("Short Chronography"), is no more than a set of

[139]E.g. Theophanes, 348 (the death of Thomas, bishop of Apamea, and the burning of the bishop of Ḥimṣ), 412 (Iraqis burn the markets of Damascus).

[140]I.e. rather than that Theophilus was continued in Syriac and translated by another person into Greek.

[141]E.g. Theophanes, 365 ('Abd al-Malik's minting of coins and Justinian's breaking of the peace), 399 (earthquake in Syria and 'Umar II's banning of wine).

[142]It was probably Theophanes too who chose to compress the account of the Arab–Persian confrontation into one short notice. Theophanes' use of the *Syriac Common Source* is further discussed in the entry on "Theophilus of Edessa" in this chapter; for the worth of Theophanes for Umayyad history see also 'Abd al-Wahhab, "Ḥawlīyat Thiyūfānīs."

[143]Nicephorus' literary output is surveyed by Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, 156–88. For the two historical works in particular see Mango, "The *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus," and *idem*, *Nikephoros*, 2–19, from which most of the information in this paragraph is drawn.

chronological tables, listing Biblical figures, kings and patriarchs. It exists in a number of manuscripts, but they differ in the number of tables they contain and not all attribute the composition to Nicephorus, but rather are anonymous. The second work, his *Historia syntomos* ("Short History")—commonly known by its Latin title, the *Breviarium*—narrates in brief the course of the Byzantine empire from the accession of Phocas in 602 to the marriage of Leo IV to Eirene in 769. It exists in two recensions, both by Nicephorus himself. One halts in 713 and most likely descends from a first draft, for the second is a reworking and completion of this first version. The differences are in style not substance, for Nicephorus' aim was apparently to render into ancient Greek a few chronicles written in the vernacular language. He did this with particular vigour in the first part of the *Breviarium*, which resulted in the suppression of almost all chronological indications.

Nicephorus wrote at a time when interest in ancient literary forms was reviving and when Byzantine culture in general was enjoying a certain degree of renaissance.[144] He evidently wished to do the same for history writing and to provide a continuation of Theophylact's *History*, which stopped at 602 and was the last representative of classicising history proper in Byzantium. Nicephorus did not fully live up to this aim, partly because of the paucity of sources for the seventh century and partly because he barely carried the work into his own lifetime, thus omitting the element of personal testimony so crucial in classical historiography. He presumably intended to continue it, but as it stands it halts at a time when he could only have been about eleven years old. Exactly when he wrote it is difficult to say, and opinions range from the 780s to the 820s.[145]

The part of the *Breviarium* dealing with the rise to power and reign of Heraclius (610–41) relies upon a Constantinopolitan chronicle, as may be inferred from the prominence given to events in the capital and from the lack of information about affairs further afield. The detailed nature of the narrative makes it likely that it was written soon after

[144]Cf. Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 1–59; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 61–88.

[145]The evidence is examined by Mango, *Nikephoros*, 8–12, who tentatively concludes that the *Breviarium* is an *oeuvre de jeunesse* datable to the 780s; Ševčenko, "The Search for the Past in Byzantium," 280, feels that Nicephorus "was rewriting and stylistically improving... the *Breviarium* late in life."

641 and by a Monothelete, since it is sympathetic to the patriarch Pyrrhus (638–41). The reign of Constans II (641–68) is passed over entirely, possibly for lack of sources. After this gap there is very little in the *Breviarium* that is not recorded by Theophanes, who is able to provide additional information, particularly on events in the East, largely based upon the *Syriac Common Source*. The sources that the two texts have in common need have been no more than two, most likely a Constantinopolitan chronicle favourable to Leo III and of the early eighth century,[146] and an iconophile chronicle hostile to Constantine V (741–75), composed towards/at the end of the latter's reign.[147]

Since the material for the period 610–41 was very likely compiled by a contemporary, it merits particular attention. Unfortunately the notice on the rise of Islam is very summary: "At about this time the Saracens began to appear from Yathrib (*Aithribos*), as it is called—this being a country of Arabia the Blessed—and attempted to lay waste neighbouring villages."[148] And the notices on the Arab conquests, though valuable because of their early date, are also very brief. The main interest of the *Breviarium* for Islamicists lies in the insights it furnishes into the first thoughts of the Byzantines about the Arabs,[149] and the very meagreness of its knowledge of events in the Muslim realm illustrates well the parochiality of the Constantinopolitan world-view of this time.

A Short Chronology ad annum 818

From the early ninth century onwards there is a proliferation of succinct chronologies, that is, lists of secular and religious authorities sometimes including brief historical notices. The most well known is that

[146]The description of the Arab siege of Constantinople of 716–18 in Nicephorus, §54, has indications of contemporaneity with the event (e.g. knowledge of weather conditions), and there is a dearth of Constantinopolitan information in both Nicephorus and Theophanes for the period 720–40. See Mango, *Nikephoros*, 15–16.

[147]Discussed by Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, 158–62.

[148]Nicephorus, §18 (tr. Mango, 65–67).

[149]See the entry on "Martin I" in Chapter 6 above and on the "Conquest of Egypt" in Chapter 13 below.

attributed to the patriarch Nicephorus, belonging to the 820s in its earliest dateable form. Ševčenko has characterised these as a "popularising vehicle" for the more heavyweight chronicles, such as that by George Syncellus.[150] As I have said above, one might also consider them as updated official lists which went on to provide the foundation for more extensive chronographical works, or as handbooks of chronology. But until more have been edited and begun to be studied, it is rash to attempt any analysis of them. The following example begins with a calculation of the years elapsed between Adam and Michael III's thirteenth year, pointing out major junctures along the way, then presents a large number of lists, first of historical miscellany, then of church leaders and secular rulers:

> Computation of years from Adam → Flood → Abraham → Exodus → Solomom and building of Temple → destruction of Temple by Babylonians → Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus → Christ → Diocletian → "the 7th year of the rule of Constantine, great-grandson of Heraclius" (676)[151] → "the thirteenth year of the rule of Michael the Young, his mother Theodora and his sister Thecla" (854).
>
> How often and when were the Jews subjugated?....
>
> In another way: on the conquests of Jerusalem....[152]
>
> On seven centres that dominated the world....
>
> On the date of composition of the four Gospels....

[150]Ševčenko, "The Search for the Past in Byzantium," 284; he discusses *Short Chron. 818* at 284–87. See also Mango, "The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography," 365–67.

[151]I.e. Constantine IV, and the text continues: "under whom Stephen the philosopher of Alexandria interpreted the canon" (*Short Chron. 818*, 63). Stephen of Alexandria would have been dead by this time (see the entry on him in Chapter 8 above), so presumably the computation was attributed to him.

[152]Twelve conquests are recorded, the last by Khusrau; once liberated by Heraclius the city then fell to the "Hagarenes," who have held it "up until now" (*ibid.*, 67).

The patriarchs of Rome from S. Peter to Paschal I (d. 824).

The patriarchs of Alexandria from S. Mark to the Melkite Peter (d. 651).

The patriarchs of Antioch from S. Peter to the Melkite Anastasius II (d. 609).

The patriarchs of Jerusalem from James to Modestus (d. 631).

The patriarchs of Constantinople from Metrophanes to Methodius (d. 847).

The jurisdictions of the various patriarchates.

Lists (27) of the kings of various peoples....

List no. 26 = the Sasanian rulers to "Boran, daughter of Khusrau. The rule of the Persians was transferred to the Saracens. In the year 6131 of the world and the thirteenth year of Heraclius there began the rule of the Saracens: Mouameth, 9 years; Aboubacharos, 3 years; Oumar, 12 years; Outhman, 10 years; anarchy and war, 4 years; Mabias, 19 years; Ēzit, 3 years; Maroua, 1 year; Abdemelech, 21 years; Ioulit, 10 years; Souleiman, 3 years; Oumar, 2 years; Izith, 3 years; Isan, 19 years; Oulit, 1 years; Izit "the deficient," 1 year; Maroua, 6 years; Aboulabas, 4 years; Abougiafar, 21 years; Maadi, the son of the latter, 10 years; Mouse, son of the latter, 1 year; Aarōn, the brother of the latter, 20 years; anarchy and war among the latter's sons for 7 years up until the present 11th indiction.

Presently (*nyn*) God will curtail the years of their rule and will raise the horn of the Christian empire against them.[153]

[153] *Ibid.*, 96–97. Hārūn al-Rashīd died in 809 and so seven years of civil war would take us to 816; the nearest eleventh indiction to this is 818.

This text is obviously composite. One layer must go back to 818, as is clear from the prophecy about the imminent curtailment of Arab rule, but the compiler then continues, now copying out the *Short Chronology* of Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia on Cyprus. This counts from Adam and concludes with two lists of rulers: "pagan emperors who ruled in Rome" starting from Augustus, and "Christian emperors who ruled in Byzantium" ending with Basil I. Since the latter's regnal years are not given, we can deduce that the final compilation was put together sometime in the reign of Basil (867–86).

Armenian Texts[154]

Armenian historiography begins in the fifth century with a burst of national history which endeavoured to give the Armenian people and their mythology a place in the scheme of Biblical history. The traumatic events of the seventh century demanded a more universal approach and thereafter, though the focus remained Armenia, the other nations that impinged upon it were also accorded some consideration. This is true already of Sebeos and is well illustrated by the title of Łewond's *History*: "On the subject of the appearance of Muḥammad and of his successors, how they ruled the world and particularly our Armenian nation." From the ninth century, though ostensibly written in the fifth, the *History of the Armenians* of Moses Khorenats'i started to make its influence felt. In particular, the tripartite division of his work into ancient, intermediate and recent history was followed by many later historians such as Thomas Artsruni (→ 904), Ukhtanes (→ 980s), Stephen Asołik of Taron (→ 1004), and Mkhitar of Ani (→ early thirteenth century).

[154]Armenian historical texts are surveyed by Inglisian, "Die armenische Literatur," esp. 177–201; Etmekjian, *History of Armenian Literature*, 225–63; Ter-Mkrtichyan, *Armyanskie istochniki*, 17–65 (focusing on those who wrote about Palestine); Hairapetian, *History of Armenian Literature*, 160–71, 223–35. Those that have something to say about Muḥammad are listed with bibliography by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1980), 279–86, and discussed by Thomson, "Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Literary Tradition." An overview and some analysis is offered by Muyldermans, "L'historiographie arménienne;" Dowsett, "Armenian Historiography;" Mahé, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet: réflexions sur l'historiographie arménienne." For literature on the authors cited in the following paragraph consult Thomson, *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature*.

Even if this schema was not explicitly adopted, most Armenian historians at least felt obliged to commence their narratives from the earliest times, as did John Catholicos (→ 923), Samuel of Ani (→ 1180), Vardan Arewelts'i (→ 1267)[155] and Kirakos Ganjakets'i (→ thirteenth century). But the principal feature of Armenian historiography is its variety. Thus we have histories of particular regions (Zenob Glak and John Mamikonian on Taron,[156] Stephen Orbelian on Siounia), of particular periods (Aristakes Lastiverts'i on the years 1002–72, Matthew of Edessa on 951–1136), and of particular peoples and families (Moses Daskhurants'i on the Albanians; many historians show partisanship for one of the noble families of Armenia, like the Mamikonians, Bagratunis or Artsrunis).

The only Armenian historians active in the seventh and eighth centuries whose works have come down to us are Sebeos and Lewond, and it is largely from these two that later writers derive their information about this period.[157] We know almost nothing about either author except that they were churchmen.[158] Their works exhibit a number of common features. Both are more in the style of a history than a chronicle, since they treat a fairly short passage of time, devoting most of their attention to their own lifetimes,[159] concentrate on politics and

[155]Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, 73–141, gives an annotated translation of the period from the rise of Islam to 888; a study and translation of the whole work is given by Thomson, "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i," 125–40 (study), 141–224 (translation).

[156]Ostensibly of the fourth and seventh century respectively, but see Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean: the History of Tarōn*, who argues that this text is a tenth-century compilation.

[157]Though both Thomas Artsruni and John Catholicos do adduce additional material, which suggests that more history writing was going on in this period than we know about. For example, John Catholicos was able to produce a list of Armenian patriarchs replete with names, geographic origins, length of office and pertinent historical notices (see Boisson-Chenorhokian, "La liste des patriarches arméniens par Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i").

[158]Stephen Asolik of Taron, *Universal History*, 1.I (tr. Dulaurier, 4), includes in his inventory of Armenian historians: "Lewond the priest, who informs us about the invasions of the Arabs and the woes which their tyranny visited upon Armenia."

[159]Bar the first one and a half chapters Sebeos focuses on the years 590–660. Lewond begins with Muḥammad and the early caliphate, which he summarises

warfare,[160] only rarely give dates (and then in terms of regnal years rather than an era), provide speeches for their characters and offer personal comments and the occasional anecdote.[161] Neither can be said, however, to be classicising history, for they are replete with scriptural quotations and their personal comments tend to be of a moralising kind or lamenting the sad plight of the Armenian people and their church. Both are hostile to Arab rule, but are nevertheless able to present us with a number of calm and balanced observations. Thus Łewond notes that Muḥammad ibn Marwān "stayed firm to the written oath that he had given" to the catholicos Sahak; that the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ḥātim ibn Nu'mān al-Bāhilī "was a man of prudence, full of earthly wisdom, a fabulist and teller of proverbs... and by stern reproofs he subdued the haughty arrogance of the sons of Ishmael;" and that when the patrician Ashot Bagratuni complained that for three years "the official maintenance given to the Armenian nobles and their cavalry had been withheld," the caliph Hishām "honoured him worthily and fulfilled his request, giving orders that three years of arrears be paid to him on the basis of 100,000 [*dirhams*] for each year."[162] Finally, both make claims about the provenance of some of their information on the Muslims that should make us take their reports seriously. Sebeos specifies prisoners-of-war who imparted to him eyewitness accounts, and Łewond states that "we heard from veracious people" and "we have learned from the enemy itself."[163] And both tender material that supports their assertions.[164]

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from Sebeos, gives a very few lines on the period 660–700, and then covers in detail the years 701–88. If we believe him that he "heard from veracious people" about an incident in 703 (Łewond, IX), then we would have to assume that he was writing not long after the date of the final notice in his work (Stephen of Dwin's accession to the patriarchate of Armenia in 788).

[160]Sebeos treats ecclesiastical matters more often than Łewond, but the latter furnishes an exchange of letters on theological issues between 'Umar II and Leo III that occupies a third of his *History*.

[161]E.g. Sebeos, IV (tr. Macler, 28): piety of Khusrau's wife Shirin; *ibid.*, XVI (tr. Macler, 44–45): discovery of a fragment of the Cross; Łewond, X (tr. Arzoumanian, 67): 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ḥātim's role in the destruction of Dwin when a boy.

[162]Łewond, IX, X, XXI (tr. Arzoumanian, 63, 66–67, 114).

[163]*Ibid.*, IX, XXXIV (tr. Arzoumanian, 63, 137).

[164]Examples from Sebeos are given in the entry on him in Chapter 4 above. See Łewond, VIII (no matter if we die "for our lawgiver Muḥammad has promised us

Christian Arabic Texts[165]

Except for a brief revival in the late twelfth and thirteenth century, history writing in Syriac declined from the middle of the ninth century. This is principally because Arabic gradually replaced other languages of the Middle East as the chief medium of scholarship. Already in the late ninth and early tenth century we hear of a number of Christian historians writing in Arabic, the earliest being Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 877), who documented the period from Creation to the reign of Mutawakkil (847–61),[166] and Qays al-Mārūnī, who dealt with "chronology, the beginning of Creation, the prophets, scriptures, cities, nations, the annals of the kings of the Romans and of other peoples" and concluded his survey with the caliphate of Muktafī (902–908).[167] These pioneering Christian Arabic historical texts have not come down to us, and the first to survive are the following:

Agapius, Bishop of Manbij (wr. 940s)

The earliest manuscript of this author's chronicle, Sinai arab 580 of the late tenth century,[168] assigns it the following title: "The book of history, the composition of Maḥbūb son of Constantine the Byzantine of Manbij, the title of which is [dedicated] to the man crowned with the virtues of wisdom, versed in the ways of philosophy, commended

paradise"), XXII (Marwān ibn Muḥammad "set aside one fifth of both the captives and the booty, and sent them to their caliph Hishām"), XXIII ("they asked the trustworthy men of their religion, whom they called the *kura*"), XXVII (on the Abbasid revolution: "Some of them, who were from the lineage of their lawgiver, separated themselves from the rest and went as fugitives to the land of Khurasan where they lived in secrecy for some time. Later they united the troops of Khurasan together and appointed Qaḥṭaba and a certain Abū Muslim as their commander, the latter being a wily man regarding astrological magic") [tr. Arzoumanian, 61, 114, 115, 121].

[165]Christian Arabic historical texts are surveyed by Cheikho, "Al-tawārīkh al-naṣrānīya fī l-'arabīya," 482–87 (lost works), 487–99 (extant works); Samir, "Christian Arabic Literature," 455–59.

[166]The result is described by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā'*, 1.200.

[167]Commended by Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 154, as a "fine composition."

[168]See Gibson, "Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts," 123–24; Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, 23.

by the truths of knowledge, righteous and benevolent, Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā son of Ḥusayn."[169] Unfortunately we know nothing about the latter character and very little about Maḥbūb himself beyond what is in the heading.[170] His work begins with Creation and halts abruptly at the end of the reign of Leo IV (775–80), but he would seem to have continued until *ca.* 942, since at one point he states that "the kingdom of the Arabs" has endured for 330 years.[171] The work was already known to Masʿūdī (d. 956) who deemed it one of the best books he had seen by the Melkites on history.[172]

Agapius has almost no information for the years 630–754 that is not drawn from Theophilus of Edessa. The only other source that we can detect is a Muslim chronology, which is revealed from the occasional provision of a Hijri date or the full name of a Muslim authority, and also from such notices as who led the pilgrimage in certain years and who the governors were for a particular caliph.[173] It would also seem to have covered the first Arab civil war,[174] but either stopped soon thereafter or was no longer used by Agapius, for he adduces no more material

[169]Instead of *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh taʾlīf Maḥbūb... ʿunwānuhu li-l-mukallal...*, as in Sinai arab 580, the Bodleian manuscript (Hunt 478 dated 1320) begins *Kitāb al-ʿunwān al-mukallal...*, and this is how the work has come to be known (i.e. as the "Book of the Title").

[170]He is commonly referred to by the Greek equivalent of his name, Agapius. Such information as we do have about him is collected by Vasiliev, "Agapij Manbidžskij;" see also Graf, *GCAL*, 2.39–41, and Nasrallah, *Mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite* 2.2, 50–52.

[171]Agapius, 456. The year AH 330 corresponds to 941–42; this is equated by Agapius to AG 1273, but a marginal note says "it is wrong," and indeed it should read AG 1253.

[172]Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 154.

[173]E.g. Agapius, 474 ('Umar replaced Khālid with Abū 'Ubayda as commander of Syria), 476 ('Umar appointed Abū 'Ubayda over Egypt in addition to Syria), 477 ('Umar named Muʿāwiya governor of Syria in place of Abū 'Ubayda), 483 ('Uthmān led the pilgrimage in the eighth year of his reign), 485 ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās led the pilgrimage in the year of 'Uthmān's murder), 487 (Muʿāwiya's governors), 488 (Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam led the pilgrimage, 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ died). Also the notice on Muʿāwiya's capture of Rhodes, which adds details to Theophilus' account, may derive from this Muslim chronology (see Conrad, "Arabs and the Colossus," 173).

[174]It is, however, very difficult to determine the content of Theophilus' account of the first civil war, since Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius each have different accounts.

of Muslim provenance. He may, however, have continued to use it for chronological purposes, for most of his notices are dated according to the years of the reigning caliph. Agapius is rather erratic in his use of Theophilus, sometimes reproducing him in full, at other times abbreviating him considerably.

Eutychius of Alexandria

The apprentice physician Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, who adopted the name Eutychius when elected patriarch of Alexandria (935–40), is credited with a number of works. The only one securely attributed to him is a universal history, of which we have a single copy of the original (Alexandrian) recension and numerous exemplars of the very popular (Antiochene) continuation by Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī (wr. 1030s).[175] Eutychius sought to compose a basic reference work made up of "brief, concise accounts," beginning with Creation and concluding in his own time.[176] The narrative certainly moves at a rapid pace, and the 300 years or so of Muslim rule are dealt with in less than 90 pages of printed text. Its value to us here is minimal, since it relies heavily on Muslim sources for the history of Islamic times and passes over Muḥammad's life and teaching except to note the date of his emigration to Medina and his death.[177] Eutychius does, however, preserve some material not found elsewhere, especially as regards events of the early seventh century. For example, he gives novel information about Jewish activities at this

[175]The Alexandrian recension is preserved, though with some gaps, by Ms. Sinai arab 580 of the early tenth century. Because of the disjointed nature of its entries, Breydy, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios*, argues that Eutychius was not much of a historian, simply collating "selected stories and legends" with very little analysis or comment. Griffith, "Historiography in the *Annals* of Eutychius," shows that there is greater coherence and authorial presence than admitted by Breydy. For discussion and references regarding Eutychius' life and works see Breydy, *Etudes sur Sa'īd b. Baṭrīq*.

[176]Eutychius, *Annales*, 1.5.

[177]See Breydy, "Un fragment du traditionniste 'Uthmān ibn Ṣāliḥ identifié dans les Annales d'Eutychios," and "Les Annales originales d'Eutychès." For some comments on the sources of the whole history see *idem*, "Aspects méconnus des Annales d'Eutychès."

time;[178] he recounts how Manṣūr, fiscal governor of Damascus, tried by a ruse to divert the Byzantine army from his city;[179] he offers a divergent account of the patriarch Sophronius' encounter with 'Umar I in Jerusalem;[180] and he records an incident about Muslims defacing an image of Heraclius that had been used as a boundary marker.[181] These and other reports would, however, require careful evaluation before being accepted.

The Chronicle of Siirt

This text, so called because the manuscript was found in the town of southern Turkey bearing that name, narrates the history of the saints and patriarchs of the Nestorian church, and of the principal events of the Roman, Persian and Arab empires that impinged upon it. Its interest for us is somewhat limited since the the two volumes that contain the work are both defective at the beginning and end: it starts abruptly in 251, has a lacuna in the middle corresponding to the years 423–83, and halts mid-sentence in 650.[182] It presumably began with Jesus, demonstrating the continuity of the Eastern church with Christianity's fount. How far it extended is less easy to say. The mention of place names such as Baghdad (founded in 762), Samarra (830s), Jazirat ibn 'Umar (founded by and named after Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Taghlibī, d. *ca.* 865), and the reference to Moṣul as the seat of a metropolitan (from 820s), take us to the late ninth century.[183]

[178]Eutychius, *Annales*, 1.216 (Jews join Persians in destroying churches in Jerusalem), 1.218–19 (Jewish revolt at Tyre), 2.5–7 (inhabitants of Jerusalem persuade Heraclius to punish Jews).

[179]Eutychius, *Annales*, 2.14; see Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 124–25.

[180]Eutychius, *Annales*, 2.17–18; see Busse, "'Omar in Jerusalem," 107–109; Wilken, *The Land Made Holy*, 235–37. In general, Eutychius gives much information about Jerusalem in the early seventh century.

[181]Eutychius, *Annales*, 19; see Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 166.

[182]On the manuscripts of this work see Degen, "Zwei Miszellen zur Chronik von Se'ert," 84–91.

[183]Fiey, "Išō'dnāḥ et la Chronique de Seert," 455; note that the text of Muḥammad's pact with the Christians of Najran was said to have been discovered in AH 265/879 (*Chron. Siirt* CII, *PO* 13, 601).

Further indications can be gleaned from the sources which the chronicler names at intervals. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Daniel bar Maryam, a contemporary of Isho'yahb III (d. 659), is cited five times, and that of two other approximate contemporaries, Elias of Merw and Bar Sahde, are cited two and three times respectively. The works of the eighth-century theologian Shahdust, bishop of Ṭirhan, and the biographies (*tarājim*) compiled by the catholicos Isho' bar Nun (824–28) are each excerpted twice. And the Melkite philosopher and physician Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, who died sometime in the reign of the caliph Muqtadir (907–32), is cited four times, bringing us into the tenth century.[184] A *terminus ante quem* is given by the observation that Isho'yahb III was the last catholicos to bear this name,[185] which means that the work antedates the appointment of Isho'yahb IV in 1020. The *Chronicle of Siirt* was, therefore, composed between 912 and 1020.

The only objection to this dating comes from an incidental remark concerning the Persian emperor Shiroi:

> Then Shiroi went out to Ḥulwan for the summer in accordance with the custom of the kings of the Persians. He fell ill there and died, and the length of his reign was six months, or it is said eight. The people grieved for him because of his goodness towards them {12mm blank} as happened in our days with Ẓāhir, may God sanctify his soul.[186]

The editor Scher took this to be a reference to the Abbasid caliph Ẓāhir (1225–26), made either by the author or a later copyist. Seybold rejected this and asserted that the Fatimid Ẓāhir (1021–36) must be meant, for he, like Shiroi, died of the plague.[187] His view was accepted and the *Chronicle of Siirt* has since been assigned to the eleventh century.[188] But the text makes no mention of the plague; the point is

[184]References and further literature on each are given by Sako, "Les sources de la Chronique de Séert," where more minor sources are also noted. He does not mention, however, Theophilus of Edessa, who seems also to have been used, most likely indirectly, by the chronicler of Siirt (see n. 52 above).

[185]*Chron. Siirt* LIV, *PO* 13, 460.

[186]*Ibid.* XCII, *PO* 13, 553–54.

[187]Scher in *ibid.* "intro.," *PO* 4, 227–28; Seybold, "Review," 743.

[188]E.g. Baumstark, *GSL*, 5; Graf, *GCAL*, 2.195–96.

that the people "in our days" grieved for Ẓāhir as they did for Shiroi. The Abbasid Ẓāhir is the obvious candidate; he too died after a very short reign and Muslim writers extol his virtuousness, benevolence and piety.[189] The slight gap between the main text and the remark, the absence of any reference to a source later than Qusṭā ibn Lūqā and the ignorance about Isho'yahb IV—all this indicates that the remark does not belong to the author, but to a thirteenth-century copyist, and so does not affect our dating of the original to the tenth century.

The only other personal intrusion into the text of the chronicle comes at the end of the entry on Babai of Nisibis (d. 626): *wa-qad sharaḥnā akhbārahu fī tash'īt 'mlt lahu*. One should probably translate: "We have set forth (i.e. in greater detail) his story in a biography I made (*'amaltu*) of him."[190] The change of pronouns is somewhat odd, and Scher suggested that one might read: "We have set forth his story according to a biography which has been made (*'umilat*) of him," by which he understood "what we have just said about Babai has been taken from his biography."[191] But this is a rather pleonastic statement, and the former rendering seems to make better sense. In this case one must decide if it is a remark of an earlier writer that has passed unedited, or was made by the compiler of the *Chronicle of Siirt* himself.

If one accepts the latter conclusion, does this help us to identify the author? Babai does feature in the *Book of Chastity*, a collection of the lives of founders of monasteries and writers on the monastic life by Isho'dnaḥ, metropolitan of Baṣra. Though not exploiting this point, Nautin did propose that Isho'dnaḥ was the author of the *Chronicle of Siirt*. This he argues on the grounds that the six quotes from Isho'dnaḥ by Elias of Nisibis are also found in the *Chronicle of Siirt* and with similar wording.[192] There are as well, however, significant differences, and the resemblances are not so striking as to decide the

[189]See *EI*[1], *s.v.* "al-Ẓāhir," which gives references.

[190]The omission of a referential pronoun (correctly read here: *'amaltuhā*) is not unusual in Christian Arabic.

[191]Scher in *Chron. Siirt* L, *PO* 13, 456 n. 1; *tash'īt* is a loan-word from Syriac, where it is feminine, so *'umilat* is not unexpected here. The comment of Fiey ("Išō'dnāḥ et la Chronique de Seert," 458 n.) that the passive is beyond the capability of a Christian Arabic writer is exaggerated.

[192]Nautin, "L'auteur de la 'Chronique de Séert': Išō'denaḥ de Baṣra."

issue.' Fiey compared the *Book of Chastity* and the *Chronicle of Siirt*, which again revealed parallels and discrepancies, but admitted no conclusion.[193] Moreover, though it is unsure when he flourished, one hesitates to extend Isho'dnaḥ's lifetime into the tenth century. Most of the characters of the *Book of Chastity* lived in the sixth and seventh centuries, none later than the eighth. There is mention of the catholicos Timothy I (780–823) and of the translation of the body of the monk Isho'zeka in 850, but these could be later glosses, for the composition shows signs of reworking.[194] And even this leaves us more than six decades away from the *terminus post quem* for the *Chronicle of Siirt*. It seems better, then, to leave the matter of authorship open pending further research.

The History of the Patriarchs

This text comprises the biographies of the leaders of the Coptic church of Egypt, beginning with S. Mark, the disciple and evangelist who preached and was martyred in Alexandria. It existed as individual *Lives* and short histories,[195] mostly in Coptic, until at least the tenth century, when these were assembled and translated into Arabic where necessary by one Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (d. *ca.* 1100). This first redaction does not survive, but was incorporated into the numerous continuations that carried on as late as 1942. The two earliest recensions are found in Ms. Hamburg arab 304, dated 1260, and the "Vulgate" recension in Ms. Paris arab 301–302 of the fifteenth century. The former is a continuation of Mawhūb's work up to 1166 and after that copied until 1260. It is the closest we have to Mawhūb's original, and the Vulgate is simply a reworking of it. The latter has a preface which assigns the compilation to the renowned Coptic theologian Severus ibn al-Muqaffa', but this is not in the Hamburg text.

[193]Fiey, "Īšō'dnāḥ et la Chronique de Seert," 447–53, where he urges caution.

[194]See the entry on "Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra" in Chapter 5 above.

[195]These short histories would have been largely based on the individual *Lives*, but adduce some additional material. Compare the *Life* of Isaac of Rakoti with the entry on him in the *History of the Patriarchs*, which comes from the history by the archdeacon George (see further on in this entry).

The attribution was made in the period between the two recensions, presumably to gain greater authority for the work, and the real contribution of Severus was simply the composition of a few biographies of tenth-century patriarchs.[196]

There are two portions of particular interest to us. The first comprises *Lives* 27–42, covering the period from Chalcedon to the early eighth century, and was written by a certain George, as is described in this passage:

> There began to write of events after that, from the father Cyril (d. 444)... to the father and confessor Alexander (704–29), ... the doctor and scribe of his (Alexander's) time, who was the archdeacon and companion of the father and patriarch Abba Simon, patriarch of Alexandria (692–700), and his scribe, namely the monk Abba George. And he wrote that in the holy mountain of Abba Macarius in the Wadi Habib, and he informed us what occurred in the time of the arch-unbeliever Marcian and what troubles came upon our fathers and what came after them up to the time of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik (715–17), king of the Muslims.[197]

The second section was composed by the author of this comment upon archdeacon George, namely John, bishop of Wasim, who continued George's account down to the time of the patriarch Michael I (743–67).[198] The narratives of both these men are a very rich source of information for relations between the Muslim and Christian authorities in Egypt, for the fiscal and administrative decisions of the country's governors and for a number of major events of Islamic history.[199] For example, Bishop John devotes 40 pages to the Abbasid revolution, and

[196]For a full discussion and further literature see den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr*; on Mawhūb himself see *idem*, "Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr."

[197]*Hist. Patriarchs* XVIII, *PO* 5, 90–91; *Hist. Patriarchs (Hamburg)*, 152, calls him Mark. See Johnson, "Further Remarks on the Arabic History of the Patriarchs," 113–14; den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr*, 7–8, 121–24, 142–43.

[198]*Ibid.*, 8, 118–19, 145–46.

[199]For some examples see the entries on "Benjamin I" and "Isaac of Rakoti" in Chapter 4 above, on "ps.-Athanasius" in Chapter 8 above, and on "Sacred Direction in Islam" and the "Conquest of Egypt" in Chapter 13 below.

the detail he gives lends credibility to his statement that "I beheld what I wrote with my own eyes."[200] The only *caveats* one must bear in mind are that some editing was probably effected by Mawhūb, and that the corruption evident in parts of the notice on Muḥammad show that translation from Coptic and subsequent copying took its toll.[201]

Jewish Texts[202]

For the rabbis the Bible was much more than a repository of past history; it was also a revealed pattern for the whole of history. New events, therefore, required no explanation, since they could easily be subsumed to familiar archetypes. The conflicts between the Jews and Romans/Byzantines were simply the playing out of the feud between Israel and Edom or Jacob and Esau, the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 echoed that by Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, and the Muslims were to be identified with the sons of Ishmael. Thus the nature and course of the Jews' relations with the various gentiles had already been delineated and needed no further comment. For this and other reasons the rabbis channelled all their efforts into the elaboration of law and scripture and worried little about history writing. All that we do have are various lists of generations and chains of authorities which serve different purposes, but all essentially emphasise the continuity of the Jewish people and their tradition. The *Lesser Order of the World* presents the chronology of the generations from Adam to Mar Zuṭra III, the thirty-first exilarch, who in the year 4280 of Creation (520) went to become chief of the Sanhedrin in Palestine. Later hands have added another eight exilarchs taking the work up to 4564 of Creation

[200] *Hist. Patriarchs* XVIII, *PO* 5, 91; and when he describes Marwān's death he notes: "We were witnessing it" (*ibid.*, 187). See Amélineau, "Les derniers jours et la mort du khalife Merouân II."

[201] E.g. *ibid.* XIV, *PO* 1, 492: "He (Muḥammad) took possession of Damascus and Syria, crossed the Jordan and dammed its waters (*sādamahu*?)." Cf. *Hist. Patriarchs (Hamburg)*, 99: "This Muḥammad and his companions took possession of Damascus and Syria, crossed the Jordan and... (*wa-bayn al-nahrayn sbādāmyh*?)."

[202] Comments on what few Jewish historical texts we have are given in the prefaces to Neubauer's *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*; *JE*, *s.v.* "Historiography;" Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, 31–52. I say Jewish texts for simplicity, since they are in Aramaic, Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic.

(804), as is stated by the colophon of one manuscript.[203] The object of this work was apparently to demonstrate that the Babylonian exilarchs were direct descendants of David, but their successors not so and therefore not legitimate. The *Order of the Tannaites and Amoraites*, probably composed in 885, the *Letter* of Sherira, gaon of Pumbedita (968–98), and the *Book of Tradition* of Abraham ibn Daud (d. 1180) each provide a detailed enumeration of Jewish teachers from earliest times with historical background, demonstrating that there existed a complete and accurate record of the history of the non-scriptural tradition of the rabbis, so refuting the Karaite contention that this tradition was a late fabrication.[204]

Although no histories proper by Byzantine Jews have come down to us, there are hints that some historical records were kept. Numerous snippets of historical information are scattered throughout the two aforementioned works of Sherira and Ibn Daud. Both relate, for example, how 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, "king of the Arabs," came to Babylonia after the Arabs had been in control of the country for a number of years; "Rabbi Isaac, head of the academy, went out to him and this king honoured him in the year 4420 (659–60)."[205] Another example is the following Judaeo-Arabic fragment found in the Geniza collection:

> There were present all the Muslims, in the city and in the district, and present with them were a group of the Jews. Then he ('Umar) ordered them to sweep the holy place and to clean it, and 'Umar was watching over them all the time. Whenever a remnant[206] was uncovered, he would ask the elders of the Jews about the rock, which is the foundation stone (*even shetīyā*), and one of the sages would mark out for him the spot until it was uncovered. And then he ordered

[203]See *JE*, *s.v.* "Seder 'Olam Zuṭa." It is designated "lesser" to distinguish it from an earlier work originally simply called *Seder 'Olam* ("Order of the World").

[204]Discussion and further references given by Cohen, *Book of Tradition*, xliii–lxii.

[205]Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-qabbālā*, 34–35/44–45; cf. Sherira Gaon, *Letter*, 50.

[206]The text has *shadwa*, adding a *tā' marbūṭa*; Arabic lexicographers usually give *shadw* (e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, *s.v.* "*shdā*:" *al-shadw kull shay' qalīl min kathīr*).

that the wall of the holy place be built, that a dome be built upon the rock and that it be plated with gold.

After this the Jews sent [word] to the rest of [the Jews of] Syria, informing them what 'Umar had agreed with them. They (the other Jews) then sent [word] to them (the Jews in Jerusalem), saying: "What is the number of people who may transfer to Jerusalem?" So they entered before 'Umar and said to him: "How many do you instruct, commander of the faithful, that may transfer to this city of the peoples (*ṭā'ifāt*) of the Jews?" 'Umar replied: "[I will hear] what your opponents say, then you speak, and after that I shall speak to remove the disagreement that is between you." Then he summoned the patriarch and his companions, and said to them: "I have agreed with these Jews [that they live] in the ruined part of the city. There shall transfer to here however many of them you accept." The patriarch said: "Those who shall transfer with their families and children shall be fifty households," to which the Jews replied: "We shall not be less than two hundred households." And so the negotiations went on between them until 'Umar proposed seventy households and they agreed to that. Then he said: "Where in the city do you want to live?" And they said: "In the south of the city," that is, the market of the Jews, for their aim was to be near the holy place and its gates, and thus the fountain of Silwan for immersion. The commander of the faithful granted them that, then from Tiberias and its environs seventy households transferred with their women and children, and they rebuilt their area with buildings that had lain destroyed for generations until grown old.[207]

Because this text is late, probably eleventh century, one at first assumes that it is dependent upon Muslim sources, which also mention the participation of Jews, notably Ka'b al-Aḥbār, in the clearing of the

[207] *Judaeo-Arabic Chronicle*, fol. 1a–b.

Temple Mount and their role in locating the Rock.[208] Yet it is equally possible that the Muslim tradition was influenced by reports circulating amongst Jews. Certainly the above text gives details, such as the number of families that relocated to Jerusalem, that could well derive from records maintained by the Jewish community of the city.

Samaritan Texts[209]

The seven Samaritan texts that are often grouped together under the term "chronicles" are a rather diverse bunch and include genealogies and a midrash as well as more straightforward historical works. The earliest complete example is the *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh* of Abū l-Fatḥ ibn Abī l-Ḥasan, who, having complained to the high priest Pinḥas in AH 753/1352 about the people's "lack of familiarity with the knowledge of the affairs of past generations" and the "disarray" of their chronicles, was subsequently charged by the same Pinḥas with "putting together a history comprising all the actions of the Fathers, from the beginning of the world... up to recent times."[210] He embarked upon this task three years later and managed to document the period from Adam as far as Muḥammad; this was then continually updated until as late as 1853. The additional material is useful for illustrating Samaritan dealings with Jews, Christians and Muslims in Islamic times, but it has yet to be studied.[211]

Derivative Accounts

There are numerous other chroniclers who narrate events of early Islamic history, but though they do occasionally adduce new material

[208]These reports are collected by Busse, "'Omar in Jerusalem," 84–85, 91–92; cf. Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il*, 43–44 (*bāb kānat al-yahūd tusriju maṣābīḥ bayt al-maqdis*).

[209]Samaritan chronicles are surveyed by MacDonald, *Theology of the Samaritans*, 40–49; Stenhouse, "Samaritan Chronicles;" Crown *et al.*, *Companion to Samaritan Studies*, 50–53 (*s.v.* "Chronicles"). I say Samaritan texts for simplicity, since they are in Aramaic, Hebrew and Arabic.

[210]Abū l-Fatḥ, *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh*, 4. On all matters to do with this text and its author see now the commentary in the new edition of Stenhouse cited in Bibliography I below.

[211]Some comments on Samaritans in this period are given by Crown, "Samaritan History: the Byzantine and Moslem Period," 77–81. Dr. Milka Levi-Rubin of the Hebrew University is currently working on one of these continuations of Abū l-Fatḥ.

and so should be consulted, they are, nevertheless, mostly dependent upon the accounts of those authors discussed above or on Muslim historians for their notices on Islam, and so they have not been included in this chapter.[212] Of the more well-known Greek chronographers George the Monk (→ 842), Symeon the Logothete (→ 948), ps.-Symeon (→ 963), Leo the Grammarian (→ 1013), George Cedrenus (→ 1057), John Zonaras (→ 1118) and Theodore Skoutariotes (→ 1261) all draw, whether directly or indirectly, upon Nicephorus and Theophanes.[213] Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), ps.-Jacob of Edessa and Maribas the Chaldean all rely upon Michael the Syrian.[214] The historical section of the religious encyclopaedia entitled *Kitāb al-majdal li-l-istibṣār wa-l-jadal* ("Book of the Tower for Insight and Dispute") is largely based upon the *Chronicle of Siirt*.[215] And the chief sources for Ibn 'Adīm's world

[212]And what new information they do adduce is very likely to be an expansion/distortion of earlier reports; e.g. Michael Psellus, *Historia syntomos*, §76 (tr. Aerts, 65): "On his victorious way home the emperor (Heraclius) met with Muḥammad, the tribal chief of the Saracens, who had come from Yathrib. This man asked for the concession to found a colony and he was granted it. It was he also who, having become a well-to-do man through his wife, then started to beguile his people. He provided himself with troops, plundered first Syria and began after that to devastate Roman lands."

[213]Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 2.5; Scott, "Byzantine Chronicle Writing: 2. After Malalas," 45–50. Lists of later authors who write about the seventh and eighth centuries are given by Karagiannopoulos, *Pēgai tēs byzantinēs historias*, 198–99, 214. The section on the Arabs in the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–59) is discussed by Bury, "The Treatise De administrando imperio," 525–33 (see n. 60 above).

[214]For Bar Hebraeus see Todt, "Die syrische und die arabische Weltgeschichte des Bar Hebraeus;" Ishaq, "Maṣādir Abī l-Faraj;" Conrad, "On the Arabic Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus." Ms. Leeds University syr. 7, fols. 8a–12b (in Arabic) and Ms. Bibliothèque Nationale syr. 306, fols. 77r–82r (in Garshuni) contain a chronicle ascribed to Jacob of Edessa and composed of abridged excerpts from Michael (Ebied and Young, "A Chronicle Erroneously Attributed to Jacob of Edessa"). Both manuscripts also contain a chronicle assigned to one Maribas the Chaldean and made up of extracts from Michael (Chabot, "La prétendue chronique de Maribas le Chaldéen").

[215]See Degen, "Daniel bar Maryam, ein nestorianischer Kirchenhistoriker," 67–73. When giving references in this book, I have followed the traditional attribution of the seven-chapter version of this work to Mārī ibn Sulaymān (twelfth-century) and of its later five-chapter recension to 'Amr ibn Mattā (fourteenth century), the latter supposedly plagiarised by his contemporary Ṣalība ibn Yūḥannā

history (→ 1260), *Al-majmū' al-mubārak* ("the Blessed Compilation"), are Ṭabarī and Eutychius.[216]

(cf. Graf, *GCAL*, 2.200–202, 216–17, 217–18). This picture has, however, been challenged by Holmberg, "A Reconsideration of the *Kitāb al-Maǧdal*," who argues convincingly that it was 'Amr who, in the early eleventh century, composed the seven-chapter version, which was revised (*not* plagiarised) in five chapters by Ṣalība in 1332. Mārī seems only to have been a continuator of the historical section.

[216]Graf, *GCAL*, 2.348–51 (Ibn 'Adīm's proper name was al-Makīn Girgis; only the second part of his work, the *History of the Muslims*, has been published). Dependent upon Ibn 'Adīm is the *Chronicon orientale* ascribed to Peter the Monk (see Chaîne, "Le Chronicon orientale de Butros Ibn ar-Rahib et l'histoire de Girgis el-Makim"), whose full name was al-Nushū' Abū Shākir ibn Buṭrus al-Rāhib and who would seem to have written a history, but not the *Chronicon* (see Graf, *GCAL*, 2.432–35).

CHAPTER 11

APOLOGIES AND DISPUTATIONS

IN A TREATISE aiming to demonstrate that Christianity is the true religion, the Melkite theologian Theodore Abū Qurra (d. *ca.* 820s) introduces a small thought-experiment:

> Let's say that I grew up on a mountain ignorant of the nature of people and one day, on account of some need that presented itself to me, I went down to the cities and to the society of people, and I perceived them to be of different religions... (Theodore reviews the nine principal creeds of his day)....Reflecting on the doctrine of each one of them, I perceived all of them to be in agreement on three points and in disagreement about them too. As for their agreement, all bar one or two claimed to have a god, to have permitted and forbidden things, and also reward and punishment. As for their disagreement, they differ on the characteristics of their gods, the things permitted and forbidden, and [the nature of] the reward and punishment.
>
> I reflected again and said [to myself]: It befits God, in his goodness and grace, when he perceived that his creation had deviated from the worship of truth, that he send to them a messenger and a book to make them realise that and to return them to it from their errors. But there came a plurality of messengers and books....It is appropriate that there should be among them [only] one [true one] in accordance

> with what is known of God's grace and providence for his creation, but what is the trick for recognising this one?[1]

Two younger contemporaries of Theodore, the Muslim writer Jāḥiẓ and the Jewish theologian Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ, also posed themselves this question.[2] The former, in his essay *Fī ḥujaj al-nubūwa* ("On the Proofs of Prophecy"), postulates two categories of proofs: those pertaining to sensory perception (*'iyān ẓāhir*) and those based upon a cogent tradition (*khabar qāhir*), both cases requiring the involvement of the intellect for purposes of verification. The most important sensory experience in the determination of prophethood was a miracle performed by the contender:

> The signs of messengers, peace be upon them, and their miracles are more worthy of attention and renown and [of being considered] a compelling [argument] for hearts and minds than their preaching and their laws. Indeed, we know that Moses, peace be upon him, was unknown and of no repute except on account of his wonders and miracles, and the same is true of Jesus, peace be upon him. Were it not for that, they would have been just like the rest whose death and birth pass unnoticed.[3]

For Muqammiṣ, too, the execution of miracles was a prerequisite for belief in a prophet, and he further stipulated that the content of the prophecy must be in accord with logic and common sense, and that "the tradition about him should not come from one direction, but rather from several quarters... nor from one nation and in [only] one language."[4]

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[1]Theodore Abū Qurra, *Fī wujūd al-khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*, 200...211–12. This Arabic tract is discussed by Klinge, "Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen," 377–82, and Griffith, "Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām."

[2]And it prompted the mid-ninth-century Zoroastrian author Mardanfarrokh i Ohrmazddadan, who had "traversed many lands and seas" in search of the truth, to compose his "Doubt-Dispelling Exposition" (*Shkand-gumānīg wizār*), which is discussed further on in this chapter.

[3]Jāḥiẓ, *Fī ḥujaj al-nubūwa*, 259.

[4]Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ, *'Ishrūn maqāla*, XIV.

These three works illustrate very well two salient characteristics of the polemic conducted by Christians, Jews and Muslims in the eighth to tenth centuries. Firstly, the combatants of each party entered the interconfessional arena with the same intellectual armoury: scriptures, authenticated traditions and dialectical reasoning based upon categorical definitions. The latter was the most important, as it enabled the debate to cross sectarian lines, and it is noticeable that the three tracts mentioned above each open with an excursus on the nature of knowledge and truth and on the procedure for deriving them.[5] In the second place, the debate was clearly a real one. The question of how to recognise a true prophet, given such careful reflection in the above texts, was scarcely considered by pre-Islamic Christian and Jewish authorities and was clearly provoked by Muslim claims about Muḥammad's prophetic credentials.[6] Moreover, we very often find in dispute texts that arguments put forward by one party are taken up and refuted by another.[7] And this is confirmed by the complaint of Jāḥiẓ regarding Christians:

> They hunt down what is contradictory in our traditions, our reports with a suspect line of transmission (*isnād*) and the ambiguous verses of our scripture. Then they single out the weak-minded among us and question our common people concerning these things, plus whatever they might know of the matter of the heretics (*mulḥidūn*) and the accursed Manichaeans (*zanādiqa*). In addition, they will often address themselves to the learned and the powerful among us, causing dissension among the mighty and confusing the

[5]This had begun earlier with Christian infighting; compare the *Dialectica* of John of Damascus and the two introductory chapters to Anastasius of Sinai's *Hodēgos*. See Roueché, "Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century;" *idem*, "A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology," esp. 71–72; Cook, "The Origins of *Kalām*."

[6]For discussion see Stroumsa, "The Signs of Prophecy."

[7]On the Muslim side see Becker, "Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung;" Sahas, "The Formulation of Later Islamic Doctrines as a Response to Byzantine Polemics;" Sadan, "Les bébés qui parlent dans leur berceaux." On the Christian side compare how the positive signs of Muḥammad's prophecy advanced by the Muslims were taken up and twisted by the Christians into the negative signs of religion (see the entry on "A Worldly Religion" in Chapter 12 below).

> weak....What makes things worse is that every Muslim thinks he is a theologian and that no one else is more adept at arguing with these deviants.[8]

This does not mean, however, that we have records of actual discussions, only that the authors of the texts, though purveyors of literary fictions, had tested their metal in the field.

The roots of these controversies between the Muslims and their subject peoples went back to the late seventh and early eighth century, when Islam first began to present itself as "the religion of truth," so challenging other faiths.[9] But the debate only gathered momentum once Arabic, established as the administrative language of the empire by late Umayyad times, had become accepted as the international medium of scholarship.[10] Whereas only eight authors are known to have polemicised in Syriac against Islam from the seventh to the thirteenth century in Muslim-ruled lands, and even fewer in Greek, as many did so in Arabic in the first Abbasid century (750–850) alone. The emergence of Arabic as a *lingua franca* and the patronage of scholarship by the early Abbasid rulers sponsored a kind of Islamic "enlightenment," fuelled by the transmission of Greek learning into Arabic, and made Iraq of the ninth and tenth centuries a centre of lively altercations amongst Jews, Christians, Muslims, Zoroastrians, Manichaeans and pagan philosophers over the nature of truth and knowledge.

The contest itself was conducted in an almost gentlemanly fashion:

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[8]Jāḥiẓ, *Al-radd 'alā l-naṣārā*, 320.

[9]This expression (*dīn al-ḥaqq*) first appears on the gold coins of 'Abd al-Malik dated AH 77/696 (see Excursus F, no. ii, below). That such pretensions spurred non-Muslims to write is shown by Abū Rā'iṭa, *Rasā'il* no. 1 (*Fī l-thālūth al-muqaddas*), 1: "You have asked me to write for you a treatise in which I should make clear to you what is obscure to you of the doctrines of peoples and their claims about the correctness of what they hold to, especially the doctrine of the Muslims and their description of the excellence of their religion, its nobleness and its superiority over other religions."

[10]Griffith, "Greek into Arabic;" *idem*, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic."

> 'It is hoped that you will treat us fairly in the discussion and that you will negotiate with us as brothers who share in the goods they inherit from their father. All of them share in them. Nothing belongs to one to the exclusion of the other. So we and you should be on a par in the discussion.[11]

But though the dialectical style of the disputants became ever more honed and their arguments ever more refined, the key objections were never overcome. Jews and Muslims could not forgive Christianity its dilution of God's unity and ascription to Him of a son;[12] Muslims and Christians remained opposed to Judaism on the subject of abrogation of the law and falsification of the scriptures; and Jews and Christians persisted in their rejection of Muḥammad's prophethood and claim to have brought a revelation from God.[13] Yet in the process each was subtly transformed and drawn a few steps towards its opponents' position.[14]

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[11]Abū Rā'iṭa, *Rasā'il* no. 1 (*Fī l-thālūth al-muqaddas*), 3–4. This at least is the approach of polemicists writing in Syriac and Arabic; writings in Greek, whether from within or outside the Muslim empire, tend to adopt a more hostile tone.

[12]Muslim anti-Christian texts of the seventh to tenth centuries are surveyed by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo–chrétien" (1975), 142–52; (1976), 190–94. For Jewish polemic against Christianity in this period see Stroumsa, "Jewish Polemics against Islam and Christianity," Section III.

[13]Muḥammad's prophethood was denied on the grounds that he was not announced in the scriptures and had worked no miracles. The earliest witness is John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 61–62 (= *PG* 94, 765C): "Who is it who bears witness that God has given him a scripture and who of the prophets foretold that such a prophet would arise?" (cf. Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 106–13/32–39 = *Arabic Apology*, §§92–157; Theodore Abū Qurra, *Greek Opuscula*, no. 19). The divine origin of Muḥammad's revelation was also refuted by imputing to him Christian/Jewish teachers (see the entries on "Baḥira" and the *Ten Wise Jews* in this chapter).

[14]For example, Christianity came to place greater stress on monotheism; thus the religious encyclopaedia *Kitāb al-majdal* (see under 'Amr ibn Mattā in Bibliography I below) begins its exposition of Christianity (*Bāb* 2, *Faṣl* 1) with the words: "The culmination of faith is the oneness of God" (*dhurwat al-īmān tawḥīd Allāh*). And later Muslims came to put forward a "Jesus-like portrait of Muḥammad's prophecy," stressing his humility and universal message (Stroumsa, "The Signs of Prophecy," 114).

Syriac Texts[15]

Patriarch John I and an Arab Commander

Reputedly the earliest dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim is that alleged to have taken place between the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, John Sedra (631–48), and an unnamed Arab general.[16] The text, contained in a manuscript copied in 874, exists in the form of a letter and bears the heading: "A letter of the patriarch Mar John on the conversation he had with an emir of the Muslims (*mhaggrāyē*)."[17] The sender of the letter is unknown, but he presents himself as part of a delegation summoned to appear with the patriarch before "the illustrious emir."[18] What he gives in the letter is "a few things from the many that were discussed at this time." His addressee is equally anonymous, simply someone "in anxiety and fear" about the sender's fate and the outcome of this interview. Seven questions are posed by the emir:

1. "Is there just one Gospel which does not vary in any way and which is held to by all those who are and call themselves Christians?"

2. "Why, if the Gospel is one, does the faith differ?"

3. "What do you say Christ was: God or not?"

[15]Dispute texts in Syriac against Islam are surveyed by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1984), 277–90; Griffith, "Disputes with Muslims in Syriac Christian Texts."

[16]The life and works of John are surveyed by Martikainen, *Johannes I. Sedra*, 1–32. A description and brief discussion of the dialogue is given by the latter at 4–10; Mingana, "Transmission of the Kur'ān," 35–37; Suermann, "Orientalische Christen und der Islam," 125–28; Griffith, "Disputes with Muslims in Syriac Christian Texts," 257–59.

[17]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 248/257; the manuscript and its contents are described by Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.989–1002 (no. 861).

[18]The statement of Barsaum, *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr*, 279 (followed by Samir, "Qui est l'interlocuteur musulman," 388), that the Severus mentioned among the members of the delegation was the patriarch's secretary and recorder of the interview, is conjecture.

4. "When Christ was in the womb of Mary, he being God as you say, who was bearing and managing heaven and earth?"[19]

5. "What doctrine and faith did Abraham and Moses have?,"[20] and, if Christian, "why did not they (Old Testament figures) from then on write and inform clearly about Christ?"

6. The emir demands that "if Christ is God and born of Mary and if God has a son, this be shown to him in one exposition (*beh b-meltā*) and from the Law."

7. The emir asks "about the laws of the Christians: what and after what fashion are they, and if they are written in the Gospel or not," and he enquires about a particular case of inheritance law.

Certain features lend this work the appearance of a typical piece of disputation literature. There are the usual narrative flourishes designed to impart reality to the work. Thus we are told part way through the debate that "there were gathered there a crowd, not only the nobles of the Muslims, but the heads and governors of the cities and of the believing and Christ-beloved peoples: Tanūkh, Ṭū'aye and 'Aqūlaye."[21] And when the emir demands proof of a scriptural citation made by John, the Greek and Syriac versions of the Bible are brought so that the Muslims (*nāshīn mhaggrē*) might read "with their own eyes" that Christ is God. Further, there are the customary polemical touches. For example, the emir has a Jew brought in to verify the text; not wishing to admit that Christ's divinity is there proven, the Jew lamely answers: "I do not know for sure."[22] And the Jacobite patriarch is depicted as

[19]The same question is posed in 'Umar–Leo, *Letter* (Arabic), 27/13 (*wa-man kāna yudabbiru amr al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ wa-yumsikuhā... idha kāna 'Īsā fī baṭn ummih?*) = *Letter* (Aljamiado), fol. 99a.

[20]Note Qur'an iii.67: "Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian, but he was a *ḥanīf*."

[21]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 251/261. A letter written in the early 680s mentions these three tribes as belonging to the regions west of the Euphrates (Michael the Syrian 11.XIV, 443/466–67).

[22]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 251/260–61. On the *topos* of confirmation of Biblical texts by a Jew see Griffith, "Jews and Muslims," 67–68.

one to whom the Chalcedonians must defer, as the spokesman of all the Christians.[23] Finally, much of the content is recognisable from earlier Christian anti-Jewish disputations. The matter of why Christ is not mentioned clearly in the Old Testament was broached in the *Trophies of Damascus*, and the response—that the people then were too rude to appreciate the Trinity—is found also in a homily of Severus of Antioch (d. 538) against the Jews.[24] The issue of Christology, which is prevalent in this Christian–Muslim exchange, is of course a dominant theme in Christian–Jewish debate too, and the Old Testament passage used by the patriarch John to demonstrate Christ's divinity (Genesis xix.24) is adduced to the same end by Severus of Antioch.[25]

Nevertheless, the dialogue is in many ways rather untraditional. Firstly, there is no triumph for the Christians at the end. Having persuaded the emir that the Christians do observe what is prescribed in the Gospel, "the assembly of the first day was dissolved and until now we have not come before him again." To compensate for the lack of any victory, it is stressed how the Chalcedonians "prayed for the life and preservation of the blessed lord patriarch, and they praised and magnified God who gave the word of truth in abundance to his eloquent speech."[26] Secondly, the question on a particular point of law is not a standard feature. Inheritance law is of course found in the Pentateuch and Syriac Christian legal manuals, but the particular point of inheritance law chosen receives more precise elaboration in the Qur'an.[27] Finally, acquaintance with some aspects of Muslim belief is demonstrated. In the course of one answer the patriarch reveals his knowledge that the Muslims—like the Christians, Jews and Samaritans—accept the Pentateuch (*Ūroytā*). And when John begins citing the prophets to illustrate that Christ is God, it is said that the

[23]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 252–53/262–63.

[24]*Ibid.*, 249–50/259; *Trophies of Damascus* I.3.2, 197–98; III.8.2, 254–56; Brière, "Homilae cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche," 21 (noted by Nau, "Un colloque," 259 n. 1).

[25]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 251/260; Brière, "Homilae cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche," 26 (noted by Nau, "Un colloque," 260 n. 2).

[26]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 252/262.

[27]*Ibid.*, 251/261; cf. Qur'an iv.11–12; see Nau, "Un colloque," 271, and Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 168 n. 20.

emir did not accept the prophets, demanding instead confirmation from Moses.[28]

But what is most noticeable about the dialogue is that the emir appears to have an implicit agenda. He wants to know whether the Christians have a defined law by which they can govern themselves, as is shown by his ultimatum: "Show me that your laws are written in the Gospel and that you conduct yourselves by them, or submit to the law of the Muslims (*nāmōsā da-mhaggrē*)."[29] To this the patriarch replies that "we Christians have laws which are right and just and accord with the teaching and prescriptions of the Gospel, the canons of the apostles and the laws of the church," whereupon the assembly is dismissed. The Qur'an instructs: "Let the adherents of the Gospel judge by that which God has revealed therein" (v.47), and the emir seems to have been trying to ensure the implementation of this principle. On the Christian side, too, one senses an underlying purpose, namely to present a united front to the invaders: the Gospel is one, the Christian laws are coherent and the patriarch "spoke for all the assembly of Christians." It is quite possible, then, that the author has taken a genuine record of a meeting between an Arab commander and the patriarch of Antioch, who would have been a natural figure to represent the Christians of Syria, and fashioned it into an apology for Christianity.[30]

The identity of the Arab emir has been surmised on the basis of a report by Dionysius of Tellmaḥre, who first tells how "'Amr bar

[28]Patrarich John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 248/257 (acceptance of Pentateuch), 250–51/260 (rejection of prophets). Cf. Sergius the Stylite, *Disputation against a Jew* XVII.11, 56...XXII.18, 80: "You asked me about the Messiah, and I invoked the prophets and they came and bore witness, but you did not accept it....Because you boast in Moses, let us return to Moses" (a mid-eighth century Syriac text); Theodore Abū Qurra, *Greek Opuscula*, no. 24: "Convince me, not from your Isaiah and Matthew, which I care little for, but on the basis of compelling and generally accepted notions" (Muslim to a Christian).

[29]*Ibid.*, 252/262; the text has *mhaggrā*, which makes Crone and Cook (*Hagarism*, 168 n. 20) suspect corruption, but it seems easier to assume a dot has been left off. Though downplaying the theological element, Fritsch (*Islam und Christentum*, 1) also detects an ulterior motive: "For the Arab emir it was less a matter of conversion or of religious information than of acquiring political contacts."

[30]In favour of there having been a genuine meeting is the provision of a precise date (Sunday, 9 May); against is the failure to name the emir.

Sa'd" forbade the public display of crosses at Damascus and Ḥimṣ, then continues:

> This emir Bar Sa'd, {either because of his hatred for the Christians or in order to stop them calling Christ God}, summoned by letter our patriarch John. When he (John) entered his ('Amr's) presence, he ('Amr) began to say insolent things contrary to the scriptures and to ask difficult questions. But the patriarch answered all the questions with examples from the Old and New Testament and with natural arguments. When he ('Amr) saw his courage and the breadth of his learning, he was astonished and thereupon ordered him, saying: "Translate for me your Gospel into the Saracen tongue, that is, Arabic, except do not put in the divinity of Christ, baptism or the cross"....(the Patriarch refuses this proviso and 'Amr backs down)....Then he (John) assembled the bishops and sent for those of Tanūkh, 'Aqūlaye and Ṭū'aye who were conversant with the Arabic and Syriac languages, and ordered that they translate the Gospel into Arabic.[31]

This certainly pertains to our dispute text, but did Dionysius have the latter before him or is he giving independent testimony? The statement that 'Amr perhaps wanted to stop the Christians calling Christ God does not follow from the preceding narrative about his hostility towards crosses and could easily be an inference from our text. The translation of the Gospel is not mentioned in the dispute, but the same three Arab tribes are listed and it is possible that the tale grew out of this. Given 'Amr bar Sa'd's anti-Christian actions it would be natural for Dionysius to connect him with the unnamed emir.

Though Dionysius' account is our only clue to the emir's identity, there are other indications of the date of the interview. At the end

[31]Preserved in Michael the Syrian 11.VIII, 421–22/431–32, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.263; the sentence in curly brackets is only in *Chron. 1234*. The notice is not in Theophanes or Agapius and so is unlikely to go back to their common source. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic," argues that the first translation of the Gospel for general use in the church was not made until the first Abbasid century.

of the dispute a list of bishops who participated is given: Thomas, Severus, Sergius, Aitallaha and John. Unfortunately their dioceses are not named, but an Aitallaha was made bishop of Marga in 629 and the other names coincide with three of the twelve bishops who accompanied Athanasius Gammala, John's predecessor, to meet Heraclius in 630.[32] If still in office, they would be an obvious choice to meet a new Arab ruler. The text itself has the interview take place "on the ninth of this month of May, on the day of holy Sunday,"[33] which corresponds to 9 May 633, 639 or 644 within John's term of office. Regarding 633 as too early, scholars have all opted for 639 or 644, their choice depending on whom they think Dionysius meant by 'Amr bar Sa'd.[34]

But if the time of the original encounter can be determined within fairly close limits, this is not true for the reworking of its minutes that has come down to us. A reasonably sure *terminus ante quem* of the early ninth century is provided by Dionysius' apparent acquaintance with the document. Griffith placed its composition in the early eighth century, relating it to the next item in the manuscript: a chronicle of disasters pertaining to the years 712–16.[35] This is possible, but no connection is evident and the manuscript's contents are of very varied date. In a thorough analysis of the colloquy Reinink points out that the text demonstrates awareness of Islam as a new faith and of the need for Christians to rally together to meet this challenge. Such awareness, he feels, presupposes the Islamisation and Arabisation policies pursued by 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd in the years 691–705, and so puts our text

[32]Patrarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 253/263; Michael the Syrian 11.IV, 413/416 (Aitallaha); *ibid.*, 11.III, 409–10/412 (mission to Heraclius).

[33]Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 248/257.

[34]Nau ("Un colloque," 227 and n. 3 thereto) favoured 639 and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. All others back 644, but vary in their choice of emir: Lammens, "A propos d'un colloque:" Sa'īd ibn 'Amr; Graf, *GCAL*, 1.35–36: 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 162 n. 11, and Samir, "Qui est l'interlocuteur musulman," 396–400: 'Umayr ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī. The latter opinion seems the most likely, for 'Umayr wielded considerable power in the early 640s, at one time being governor over Damascus and Ḥimṣ (Ṭabarī, 1.2646, 2798), and is connected with attempts to convert Christian Arabs (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 136, 182).

[35]Griffith, "Muḥammad's Scripture and Message," 99; the chronicle is edited and translated in Nau, "Un colloque," 253–56/264–67, and translated in Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 45–47.

in the first decades of the eighth century.[36] This would then bring this dispute into line with the time of composition of other early apologetic texts.

A Monk of Beth Ḥale and an Arab Notable

Nothing is known about the transmission of the text of this disputation before its appearance in two manuscripts, one from Diyarbakir of the early eighteenth century, the other at Mardin copied in 1890.[37] 'Abdisho''s thirteenth-century catalogue knows of an Abraham of Beth Ḥale who composed "a disputation against the Arabs," and he has come to be regarded as the author of our text.[38] This does not help us much, however, for there are two monasteries of this name, one near Moṣul and one near Ḥira, and it is not certain when Abraham lived. It is asserted that he was a student of the early seventh-century ascetic Khudahwi and so died *ca.* 670, but this seems to be conjecture.[39] In the absence of any firm external data we must turn to the text itself for information. Since this has not yet been published,[40] I shall first give a description of its contents. The composition opens with a somewhat tortuous primordium:

> With God's help we shall write down the debate that took place between a man of the Arabs and a certain monk of the monastery of Beth Ḥale. Because you determined—O our brother and beloved above myself, Father Jacob—to

[36]Reinink, "Beginnings of Syriac Apologetic Literature."

[37]For references to descriptions of these manuscripts see Jager, "Intended Edition." I use Diyarbakir syr. 95 (Scher, "Manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à Diarbékir," 398), a copy of which was kindly given to me by Professor Michael Cook.

[38]Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 205; the identification was first made by Baumstark, *GSL*, 211.

[39]Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 205 n. 2, simply states it without reference; cf. Nau, "Abraham de Bet Ḥale."

[40]The "Intended Edition" of Jager (see under his name in Bibliography II below) did not materialise; Professor Han Drijvers has since completed an edition, and I am very grateful to him for showing this to me before its publication.

> make earnest petitions upon our frail self for an account of our investigation into the apostolic faith at the instance of the Son of Ishmael (*Bar Īshma'īl*), and because it seemed to me that it would be of advantage that you impart it to your brethren, and because I know that it is useful to you, so I am setting it down, in question-and-answer form, as is fitting.[41]

After making praise to God and convocation of Jesus and the saints, the setting of the dispute is then elaborated:

> This Arab man then, O my lord, was one of the chief men before the emir Maslama and by reason of a malady which he had, he came to us and remained with us for ten days. He spoke freely with us and debated much about our scriptures and their Qur'an (*qūrān*). When he saw our rites performed at the appropriate seven times, in accordance with what the blessed David said: "Seven times a day I praise you for your judgements, O righteous one," he called me to him. And because he had acted as steward in the government for a long time and because of his exaltedness and our lowliness, he would speak with us via an interpreter. He began by reproving us for our faith, saying: "You make prayers much, night and day you are not silent, and you outdo us in prayer and fasting and in your petitions to God. However, in my own opinion, your faith rules out that your prayers will be accepted."[42]

This attack prompts the monk to set out the terms by which a debate should be conducted:

> The monk said: "Speak with me respectfully so that I shall speak with you as is fitting. Since you pose questions through an intermediary (*'ābōrā'īt*), our mind is made up that we shall take refuge in silence. For when a man is silent,

[41] Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 1a.
[42] *Ibid.*, fol. 1a–b.

> even if he be stupid, he is considered wise. If, then, you sincerely wish to learn the truth, speak with me without an interpreter, for when you seek a request such as this from me, truly it is proper that we speak one to one, even though you are very important. I know that in every matter, whatever it is, I should respect you because of your authority and importance; but when you desire from me the truth of my faith, I know that I shall not show you favour. Everything that you have [in mind], say, as long as you do not depart from the scriptures; and even though we are lowly, accept from us every word which you know to be true, because I know that truth is beloved to all God-fearing people."[43]

The Arab's objection that "we do not accept all your Books" is smoothed over by the monk, who promises to be responsive to any doubts the Arab may have, and the debate proper begins. The Arab's questions are as follows:

1. "Is not our faith better than any faith that is on the earth..., for we observe the commandments of Muḥammad (*Mūḥmd*) and the sacrifices of Abraham....And this is a sign that God loves us and is pleased with our faith, namely, that he gives us dominion over all religions and all peoples?"

   ANSWER: There are and have been many other rulers in the world besides the Arabs.

2. "Why do you not profess Abraham and his laws, when he is the father of the prophets and of kings, and scripture bears witness to his righteousness?"

   ANSWER: Christ has brought a new covenant, the old being merely a model (*typos*) of the new.

3 "Since God is lofty and exalted...why do you degrade him and announce 'to him is a son,' and why, when he is one, do you say 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit?'"

   (The monk gives proofs from scripture and by reasoning).

[43] *Ibid.*, fol. 1b.

4 "How is Muḥammad our prophet considered in your eyes?"

ANSWER: "A wise and God-fearing man who freed you from idolatry and brought you to know the one true God."

5 "Why do you act perversely and worship images and crosses and the bones of saints?"

ANSWER: The image is a reminder of the original; the cross is symbolic and has miraculous power; relics are important for intercession.

6 "Why do you reject all [other] directions and prostrate in the direction of the east?"

ANSWER: The paradise of Eden is there, thence we came and thither we hope to return.[44]

The sagacious replies of the monk have gradually won round the Arab, who now feels compelled to admit the truth of Christianity. "Moreover," he continues, "Muḥammad our prophet said concerning the residents of convents and the inhabitants of mountains that they would enjoy the Kingdom, as indeed will all those who are of this doctrine."[45] But one question still bothers him:

> Though I know that your faith is true and that your way of thinking is superior to ours, what is the reason that God has delivered you into our hands, and that you are led by us like sheep to the slaughter, and that your bishops and priests are killed and the rest crushed and enslaved night and day by the king's taxes, which are harsher than death.[46]

[44] *Ibid.*, fols. 1b–2a (Question no. 1), 2b (no. 2), 4a (no. 3), 5a (nos. 4–5), 7b (no. 6).

[45] *Ibid.*, fol. 8a; cf. Qur'an v.82: "You will find the closest in friendship to those who believe are those who say 'we are Christians;' that is because among them are priests and monks, and because they are not proud." For discussion see Sviri, "Traditions concerning Christian Monasticism."

[46] Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 8a.

The monk's answer is to cite the words of Moses to the Israelites: "Not because of your righteousness has God brought you into the Land of Promise, but because of the wickedness of its inhabitants" (Deuteronomy ix.5), and to point out that chastisement by God is a sign of His love. In fact, "if you are without chastisement, you are strangers not children [of God]." The Arab, now fully accepting the truth of Christianity, inquires: "Will the sons of Hagar enter the Kingdom or not?," to which the monk replies by quoting John iii.5: "Truly, I say to you, all who are not born of water and spirit will not enter the kingdom of God."[47] And the dispute concludes with the Arab testifying that "were it not for fear of the authorities and of disgrace before men, many would become Christians."

It is immediately obvious that this disputation is a literary fabrication. The Arab only asks questions, advances almost no arguments of his own, and comes to agree more and more with his antagonist until he eventually bears witness to the superiority of Christianity. The religion of the Arab receives only incidental consideration. Furthermore, the agenda is very familiar from earlier disputations against the Jews. In the *Trophies of Damascus*, for example, there are the same questions about the Godhead, adoration of images and the cross, and prayer to the east. There, too, the Christian interlocutor was taunted about the diminishment of Byzantine sovereignty, though the answer at that earlier stage was to emphasise the resilience of the Christian realm. And even when there are new questions, such as that regarding Muḥammad, the answers are still traditional. Thus the Arab asks: "Why, if he (Muḥammad) was wise, did he not teach us from the beginning about the mystery of the Trinity?" Because the minds of the people at that time were too simple, responds the monk, echoing again the *Trophies*

[47]A sermon given in honour of SS. Peter and Paul has the patriarch Athanasius ask S. Peter: "My lord Father, apostle of Jesus Christ, I ask you to tell me whether the nations who worship God, but do not accept the Son or the Holy Spirit and are not baptised in his name nor do they receive the holy mysteries—may they enter into the kingdom of heaven when they depart from their bodies?," to which Peter gives the same answer as the monk of Beth Ḥale, quoting John iii.5 (Theophilus of Alexandria, *Homily*, 393–95; see the entry on this text in Chapter 3 above). And this verse is also cited at the end of *Trophies of Damascus* IV.6.1, 274.

of Damascus and, indeed, a far older argument used originally against the Jews.[48]

At the beginning of the text the author informs his patron, Father Jacob, that he will put the disputation into the requisite question-and-answer form. So might we have here a literary redressing of a real debate? Can we, in other words, detect any material that might derive from interaction with a Muslim? A number of features are worth considering. When asked why the Christians do not "profess Abraham and his commandments," the monk has to request clarification: "What faith of Abraham do you desire for us, and what are his commandments that you wish us to perform? The Arab said: circumcision and sacrifice, because he received them from God."[49] The two practices are attested for the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, and it has been proposed that they became the pillars of the nascent Islamic faith, which was a religion of Abraham.[50] All one might note in addition here is that a Syriac chronicle has Muḥammad's initiation of sacrifice mark the beginning of the new Muslim polity,[51] and that the "faith of Abraham" (*tawdītā d-Abrāhām*) which the monk queries echoes the equivalent Qur'anic expression *dīn Ibrāhīm*.[52]

In the debate on the Godhead, whether God is three and if He has a son, the Arab is asked about "the one who is called by you 'Īsā bar

[48] *Ibid.* I.2–5, 194–207 (Godhead); III.6, 245–50 (images and cross); III.7, 250–54 (praying east); II.3.1, 220 (loss of sovereignty); I.3.2, 197–98 and III.8.2, 254–56 (Jews at that time too simple to understand the Trinity).

[49] Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 2b.

[50] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 174–76 (circumcision), 112–29 (sacrifice); Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 12–13.

[51] *Chron. 819*, 11 (AG 932): "Muḥammad (*Mūḥmṭ*) began to reign, the first king of the Arabs. He made the first sacrifice and had the Arabs eat them against their custom. From this point the enumeration of their years begins." Cf. Theophanes, 333: "The misguided Jews thought he was the Messiah... and they remained with him until his [first] sacrifice" (see the entry on the "Ten Wise Jews" in this chapter). Sacrifice is also alluded to in the Qur'an (e.g. xxii.32–33: "Whoever magnifies the offerings consecrated to God [has done well], for they proceed from devotion of the hearts. They contain benefits for you for an appointed term, then they are brought for sacrifice (*maḥilluhā*) to the ancient House"). And there are Arabic reports which maintain that to be a Muslim entails eating our sacrifices (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 69; Ṭabarī, 1.2020; though see the entry on "Athanasius of Balad" in Chapter 4 above).

[52] On *dīn Ibrāhīm* see the entry on "Sebeos" in Chapter 4 above.

Maryam and by us Jesus Christ," and he replies: "In accordance with what is from our Muḥammad (*Mḥmd*), we also bear witness to what he said, [namely that he is] the Word of God and His Spirit."[53] This is drawn from Qur'an iv.171, and also the term 'Īsā ibn Maryam is the standard formula used by the Qur'an to refer to Jesus.

The Arab asks: "What is the reason that you adore the cross when he did not give you such a commandment in his Gospel?" This the monk counters with the observation:

> I think that for you, too, not all your laws and commandments are in the Qur'an which Muḥammad taught you; rather there are some which he taught you[54] from the Qur-'an, and some are in *sūrat albaqrah* and in *gygy* and in *twrh*. So also we, some commandments our Lord taught us, some the Holy Spirit uttered through the mouths of its servants the Apostles, and some [were made known to us] by means of teachers who directed and showed us the Way of Life and the Path of Light.[55]

The Chapter (*sūra*) of the Cow (*al-baqara*), now the second in the Qur'an, is evidently considered by the monk to be a separate source of law. In the legend of Baḥira it appears as the name of the whole Book, and in the Muslim tradition too there are indications that it had a certain distinctiveness. For example, at the battle of Ḥunayn, 'Abbās calls his men to arms with the cry: "O followers of the Chapter of the Cow."[56] The identity of the next two alleged sources of Muslim law adduced by the monk is less clear. One might assume them to be also chapters of the Qur'an, but it is not obvious which would be intended.[57] Almost certainly the Gospel and the Torah are meant, and the Syriac is

[53]Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 4b.

[54]Reading *aleptōn* ("you taught") as a mistake for *alepkōn* ("he taught you").

[55]*Ibid.*, fol. 6a.

[56]Baḥira (Syriac), 228/222 and 243 ("the book was called *sūrah al-baqrah*"); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 4.1, 12 (*yā aṣḥāb sūrat al-baqara*). See also Bashear, *Al-ta'rīkh al-ākhar*, 44–45; Modarressi, "Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'ān."

[57]One might emend *gygy* to *gwāgay*, Syriac for "spider," which is the name of the twenty-ninth chapter of the Qur'an, but unlike *sūrat al-baqara* this chapter has no real legal content.

attempting to convey the Arabic names for these scriptures: *Injīl* and *Tawrāh*; the corruption of the letter forms is fairly minor and is easily explained as the result of a thousand years of transmission.

The text is somewhat difficult to date. If the "emir Maslama" whom the Arab serves is to be identified with Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 738), then this would yield a *terminus post quem* of 710, when he was appointed governor of Mesopotamia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and probably after 717, when he gained notoriety among Christians for his role as commander of the siege of Constantinople.[58] In his account of Muḥammad's initiation of the Arabs into monotheism the monk says that "he first brought you to know the one true God, a doctrine which he had received from Sargis Baḥira."[59] The association of Sergius and Baḥira is not otherwise attested before Thomas Artsruni and Mas'ūdī, both writing in the early tenth century; 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (wr. 820s?) speaks rather of "Sergius surnamed Nestorius and John known as Baḥira."[60] It is of course possible that Kindī is confused,[61] but in any case the casual reference here suggests that the story was already well enough known not to require any introduction, and one would not wish to put this before late Umayyad times.

Timothy I (780–823)

The discussion between the caliph Mahdī and the catholicos Timothy on the relative merits of Christianity and Islam is the most famous of

[58] *EI*^{2}, *s.v.* "Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik;" Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 163 n. 23.

[59] Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 5a.

[60] Thomas Artsruni, 2.IV (tr. Thomson, 165); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 1.146; Kindī, *Letter to al-Hāshimī*, 196. Cf. 'Umar–Leo, *Letter*, 32/24: "You alleged that John and Nestorius (*Yānis wa-Nasthūr*) taught our prophet the religion which he brought" (Sourdel, "Un pamphlet anonyme," 24 n. 4, reads *yās*, and suggests that Baḥira's companion Isho'yahb is meant, but given the comment of Kindī, John makes better sense).

[61] Or else late. Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien*, has recently argued that Kindī wrote in Ma'mūn's time, but there has been much controversy over this text (a useful summary is given in Griffith, "Muḥammad's Scripture and Message," 105–108) and Tartar's study cannot resolve the matter, for he does not consider the borrowing from Muslim works evident in Kindī's *Letter*.

the early exchanges between the two great religions. For this reason I give a brief mention of it here, even though it is just outside our period. The actual encounter must have occurred after Timothy's accession to the catholicate in 780 and before Mahdī's death in 785. The account of it, which Timothy gives in a letter to his life-long friend Sergius, was probably composed not much afterwards, as is implied by the statement that the meeting took place "before these days."[62] The debate would have been conducted in Arabic, the language of the court, but since all of Timothy's extant correspondence is in Syriac, we may assume that the letter to Sergius was also composed in that language and that the shorter Arabic version we have is an abridged translation made at a later date.[63]

After a few humble words of introduction to Sergius, then director of the school of Bashosh in northern Iraq where he and Timothy had once been pupils together, the catholicos proceeds directly to his subject:

> We inform your Wiseness, O God-loving lord, that before these days we entered before our victorious king and we blessed God and His majesty according to our custom. And when we had completed as many words of praise as were allowed, in which we spoke of the nature of God and His eternity, he thereupon acted towards us as never before, saying to us: "It is not right for a man like you, O Catholicos, who

[62]Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 92/16 (*men qdām yawmīn hāleyn*), 156/83–84. Nau, "Compte-rendu," 242–44, argues that the meeting must have taken place during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809), since he is referred to in a manner inappropriate while Hādī was heir apparent; however, Hārūn had by 781 been designated the second heir and so might also come in for praise (see Caspar, "Les versions arabes du dialogue," 116–17). On Timothy see Putman, *L'église et l'Islam*, 13–23; his letters are reviewed by Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph*, 128–55.

[63]Demonstrated by Putman, *L'église et l'Islam*, 173–83. This does not mean, however, that the thirteenth-century Syriac manuscript from which derives our knowledge of the *Apology* has conveyed to us the original (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Notre Dame des Semences," 57 [Codex 90]). In particular, the division of the debate into two sessions may have been a later elaboration, for the second session deals chiefly with the Trinity and Christ, both of which had been treated on the first occasion, and none of the Arabic versions have this division. Note also that there does exist a shorter Syriac rendition (see van Roey, "Une apologie syriaque attribuée à Elie de Nisibe").

> possesses such knowledge as this and such reasoning about God, ever to say about God that He took a wife and begat from her a son."[64]

This sparks off a lengthy debate which ranges across the following topics:

1. The Incarnation and Christ's nature.
2. The Trinity.
3. Circumcision and direction of prayer.
4. Biblical references to Muḥammad and the falsification of scripture.
5. The cross and the death of Christ.
6. The Gospels ("Why are they different from one another?").
7. Muḥammad's prophethood and the falsification of scripture.
8. "Muḥammad walked in the path of the prophets."[65]

All these subjects are, of course, standard fare of Christian–Muslim debate and were probably already familiar to intellectuals of Mahdī's day, but this is the earliest elaborate account of them that we have. Moreover, Timothy does adduce new arguments, some of which rely on topical details. Thus, in answer to the caliph's question whether Christ wished to be crucified, and so whether the Jews were simply doing his will and are not to be blamed,[66] Timothy counters by drawing a

[64]Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 92/16–17 = *Arabic Apology*, §§2–3.

[65]The Arabic versions mostly follow the same order as the Syriac, except that they either omit the last topic or put it as no. 5. See further Caspar, "Les versions arabes du dialogue," 108–12, 118–21.

[66]Whereas if Christ did not want to be crucified and was so, then he was weak and so could not be God. The same question is found in John of Damascus, *Disputatio*, 431–32 (= *PG* 96, 1340C–1341C), and Theodore Abū Qurra, *Greek Opuscula*, no. 9 (see Griffith, "Unpublished Arabic Sayings Attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah").

parallel between Christ's situation and that of the "voluntary fighters for God's sake (*mūṭṭawi'īn b-sabīl Allāh*)," whose killers are, like the Jews, blameworthy, since in both cases the killing was effected without regard for the will of the slain.[67] And in reply to the caliph's observation that the prophets several times called Christ a servant, Timothy invokes the example of the heir-apparent Hārūn, who, while serving in the imperial army, does not forego any of his "royal sonship and freedom."[68]

To what degree the text that has come down to us represents a genuine conversation between Mahdī and Timothy is difficult to say. It is true that the catholicos commands the lion's share of the lines and uses a somewhat didactic tone, and that the caliph, though he is not so meek as the Arab of the Beth Ḥale dispute and undergoes no change of heart, does little more than pose questions and objections. This could be explained as the result of the transformation of the dialogue into a letter, but in either case we have to do with a literary construction rather than a faithful transcription.[69] On the positive side, the fact that a number of the arguments also feature in Muslim refutations of Christianity does at least indicate that the text reflects discussions taking place between the adherents of the two faiths.[70]

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[67]Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 117/44 (omitted in the Arabic version); on these "voluntary fighters" see *EI*^{2}, *s.v.* "Mutaṭawwi'a, muṭṭawwi'a."

[68]Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 156/83–84. Mingana, "Apology of Timothy," 84 nn. 2–3, feels that this is a reference to Hārūn's expedition of AH 165/781, from which he had not yet returned, and that the debate must therefore have taken place in 781.

[69]This is the opinion of Nau, "Compte-rendu," 242, 244, who labels it "un travail de bureau."

[70]E.g. the question of whether Isaiah xxi.7 ("And he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen....") or John xv.26 ("But when the Comforter is come....") are referring to Muḥammad, discussed at some length by Timothy (*Syriac Apology*, 110–13/37–39, 107–109/33–35 = *Arabic Apology*, §§134–57, 104–21), features very early in Muslim tradition (see Bashear, "Riding Beasts on Divine Missions," 40–43, on Isaiah; Guillaume, "The Version of the Gospel used in Medina," 289–93, on John). Timothy's knowledge of Islam is illustrated by another apologetic work written by him, in which he discusses with a Muslim scholar how to speak of God (edition and discussion given by Cheikho, *Dialectique du langage sur Dieu*).

Baḥira

Two works stand out in the history of Christian polemic against Islam for their enormous popularity and influence in both eastern and western Christendom. One is the apocalypse of ps.-Methodius, the other is the story of the monk Baḥira, which is to be found in Syriac, Christian Arabic, Latin, Armenian and Hebrew versions, all ultimately dependent upon the tale of the young Muḥammad's encounter with the monk recounted in the Prophet's biography.[71] The earliest reconstructable account of it in the Islamic tradition is that given by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (d. 767):

> Once Abū Ṭālib was going out with a party of Quraysh to Syria for trade, but when he was all prepared for the journey and was resolved to set out, the Messenger of God, as they allege, displayed great attachment to him. Abū Ṭālib took pity on him and said: "By God, I shall take him with me and we shall never be separated from one another," or the like, and took him with him. The caravan stopped at Bostra in Syria where there was a monk named Baḥira in his cell,[72] and he was well acquainted with the knowledge of the Christians. There had always been in that cell a monk to whom would pass their knowledge, so they claim, from a book that was handed down from generation to generation. When they stopped by Baḥira that year, he prepared

[71] In general, see *EI*[1] (Wensinck) and *EI*[2] (Abel), *s.v.* "Baḥīrā;" Graf, *GCAL*, 2.145–49; Gero, "The Legend of the Monk Baḥīrā;" Griffith, "Muḥammad and the Monk Baḥîrâ;" Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 44–55 (discussing the theme of attestation of the Prophet). The Syriac, Arabic and Latin versions are considered here; for the Armenian see Thomson, "Armenian Variations on the Baḥira Legend;" for the Hebrew see Shtober, "Ha-nazīr Baḥīrā, īsh sōdō shel Mūḥammad, ve-hayehūdīm," and Gil, "Ma'ase Baḥīrā."

[72] *Ten Wise Jews (Judaeo-Arabic)*, 402, makes Baḥira a stylite. Interestingly, a Chalcedonian anti-Monophysite tract written *ca.* 670 tells us that "in the confines of Arabia, lying near Damascus and Bostra, there is a village named Gasymeos (Jasim), entirely of the Jacobite heresy, and two stades to the south there is a stylite belonging to the same heresy" (Bonwetsch, "Ein antimonophysitischer Dialog," 124).

> much food for them. That was because, while in his cell, he had seen a cloud over the Messenger of God which was shading him [alone] out of the people. Then they drew near and halted in the shade of a tree close to him, and he noticed the cloud shadowing the tree and inclining its branches over the Messenger of God until he was in the shade beneath it. When Baḥira saw this, he went down from his cell, then sent for them. When Baḥira saw the Messenger of God, he observed him closely, looking at features of his body which he might find familiar to him [from his book] of his description. When the men had finished the meal and dispersed, he asked the Messenger of God about things which had happened in his waking and sleeping. The Messenger of God began telling him and Baḥira found them in agreement with what he knew [from his book] of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders, whereupon he said to his (Muḥammad's) uncle Abū Ṭālib: "What relation is this boy to you?" "My son," he replied. "He is not your son," said Baḥira to him, "it cannot be that this boy's father is alive." "He is my nephew," he said. "What became of his father?" "He died while the boy's mother was pregnant with him." "You have spoken the truth," said Baḥira, "take him back to your country and guard him from the Jews, for by God if they see him and recognise in him what I have recognised in him they will wish him harm. Great things lie ahead of him, so take him back quickly to his country."[73]

This tale of how a monk bore witness to the prophethood of Muḥammad was taken up by Christian authors and fashioned into an account of how a monk instructed Muḥammad in monotheism and wrote for him a scripture. The most elaborate form of this narrative is found in one

[73]This passage translates the material common to Ṭabarī, 1.1123–25, and Ibn Hishām, 115–17, both citing Ibn Isḥāq as their source. It is almost the whole of the account of Ṭabarī, who seems to be abbreviating. For other Muslim accounts see Sprenger, "Muḥammad's Zusammenkunft mit dem Einsiedler Baḥyrâ," and Nöldeke, "Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer?"

Arabic (A) and two Syriac recensions (one Jacobite: S1, one Nestorian: S2), which also include the apocalyptic prophecies of Baḥira discussed in Chapter 8 above. Their dependence upon the Arabic tradition is clear, since they repeat the essential storyline of a number of Arabs coming with the boy Muḥammad to the dwelling of Baḥira, who recognises the future greatness of the youth by a vision above his head.[74]

Baḥira proceeds to teach Muḥammad about God and Christ, and asks in return that he and his successors show indulgence to the Christians, their monks and their clerics. Muḥammad protests: "How will my people believe in me when I cannot read a book and am unlearned?"[75] Baḥira promises to take care of everything for him. This he does firstly by prescribing beliefs and practices which will be acceptable to the Arabs and match their capabilities. These are recognisably Islamic, though there is excessive attention, common in anti-Muslim polemic, given to the description of paradise, and prayer is set at seven rather than five times a day. Secondly, Baḥira composes for Muḥammad a scripture which is variously called *Sūrah al-baqrah* (S1, S2), *Qūran* (S1, S2) and *Furqān* (A).[76] The reason for the subsequently tainted state of Islam is explained differently in the Syriac and Arabic recensions. The former postulates the appearance of a Jewish scribe named Ka'b who distorts Baḥira's teaching, notably changing the identity of the Paraclete from Christ to Muḥammad. The Arabic stresses the debauched nature of the Arabs, which required Baḥira to make many concessions. He also admits that it was self-glory that led him to undertake the task, and the text ends with Baḥira weeping and reproaching himself for what he has done.[77]

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[74]Baḥira (Syriac), 216/216–17 (S1; adds "like a cloud"), 216/238 (S2); A has the same outline but does not mention the vision.

[75]*Ibid.*, 223/220 (S1). *Ibid.*, 223/241 (S2), and Baḥira (Arabic), 57/137, have abbreviated this to *seprā lā yāda'nā/lā a'rifu kitāban*. On Muḥammad's supposed illiteracy see Goldfeld, "The Illiterate Prophet," and for its role in Christian polemics see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 86–87.

[76]Baḥira's interview with Muḥammad is some five times longer in the Arabic recension than in the Syriac, in part because Baḥira's Book is not just named, but extensively quoted (most citations are from the Qur'an).

[77]Baḥira (Syriac), 212–14/214–15 (S1), 212–14/236 and 240–42/250–52 (S2); Baḥira (Arabic), 89–92/159–60, 97/163.

To Baḥira's catechisation of Muḥammad was added a prophecy about the subsequent course of Arab rule. This was taken, with only minor modifications, from the Baḥira apocalypse which seems to have existed independently of, though not necessarily prior to, the Baḥira–Muḥammad sketch. The apocalypse survives in Latin and derives ultimately from a mid-ninth-century original.[78] At an even later date the apocalypse was prefixed to the new compilation to make a Baḥira corpus, and that is what we now have in the Arabic and Syriac recensions. As it stands, then, it cannot predate the late ninth century, but it seems certain that the legend circulated in some form, whether orally or in a more primitive version, long before this time. The tale of Sergius in the *Letter* of 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (wr. 820s?) has all the essential ingredients of the later Baḥira story: the persecution of the monk, his flight to Arabia "as far as Mecca," the instruction of Muḥammad in the Christian faith and the subsequent corrupting influence of the Jewish scribe Ka'b. The only difference is that Sergius is surnamed Nestorius and teaches Muḥammad the Nestorian brand of Christianity.[79] Theophanes (d. 818) mentions a "monk exiled for false belief" in whom Muḥammad's wife confided her anxieties about her husband's visions. This role is played in Muslim accounts by Waraqa ibn Nawfal, an Arab convert to Christianity, but the description also includes traits of Baḥira who was expelled from Byzantine lands for his heretical belief in the worship of one cross.[80] Muḥammad received the doctrine of monotheism "from Sargis Baḥira," writes a monk of Beth Ḥale in his disputation text, plausibly of late Umayyad date. And John of Damascus (wr. 730s) alludes to Muḥammad's alleged encounter with an Arian monk, which enabled him to "form a heresy of his own."[81]

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[78]See the entry on "Baḥira" in Chapter 8 above.

[79]Kindī, *Letter to al-Hāshimī*, 128–29; see the entry on the "Monk of Beth Ḥale" in this chapter.

[80]Theophanes, 334; Ibn Hishām, 121, 143; Baḥira (Syriac), 211/212–13 (S1), 211/236 (S2). His "heresy" is discussed by Gero, "The Legend of the Monk Baḥīrā," 55–57.

[81]John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 60 (= *PG* 94, 765A); Thomas Artsruni, 2.IV (tr. Thomson, 165), explicitly draws a connection between this Arian monk and Baḥira.

Greek Texts[82]

John of Damascus (wr. 730s)

Despite the enormously important role he played in the struggle against iconoclasm, we know very little about the life of John of Damascus, and the information that would help us to form a proper assessment of his writings is either lacking or of doubtful veracity. Was he, for example, raised in an Arab milieu?[83] The Council of Hiereia of 754 refers to John as "Mansour," an Arab name meaning "victorious" (*manṣūr*), which, explains the chronicler Theophanes, was his patronym.[84] By reason of this name he is linked to the Manṣūr family,[85] whose most notable members were: Manṣūr ibn Sarjūn, John's grandfather and financial governor of Damascus for Maurice (582–602), a position he allegedly still held when Heraclius visited the city in 630 and when the Arabs took

[82]Dispute texts in Greek against Islam are surveyed briefly by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1975), 169–73; (1976), 194–95; and with full discussion by Eichner, "Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern;" Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*; Ducellier, *Le miroir de l'Islam*, 109–216.

[83]If so, were his writings in defense of images more a response to Muslim than Byzantine iconclasm (see Griffith, "Images, Islam and Christian Icons," for the extent of Muslim iconoclasm within the caliphate)? Sahas, "The Arab Character of the Christian Disputation with Islam," goes so far as to claim him as a "Syrian Arab," though this seems odd for one who lauds the Virgin Mary "through whom the barbarian-born and slaughter-loving dog Ishmael is slain by the sword" ("Homily on the Annunciation," *PG* 96, 657B). The traditional view of John is rather of a wholly Byzantine figure (e.g. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," 118: "in mind and in heart John still lives in Byzantium;" Louth, "A Christian Theologian at the Court of the Caliph," 10: "a Byzantine subject in exile").

[84]*Concilia sacra*, 13.356C–D; Theophanes, 417.

[85]Others bearing this name are "Theodore son of Manṣūr," whom Theophanes, 410, says "was exiled to the desert regions" in 734, and Stephen Manṣūr of Damascus, monk of Mar Saba and author of the *Passion* of Romanus the Neomartyr and of the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba*. The former is taken to be John's brother by Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 48, and, more plausibly, his uncle by Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, AM 6226 n. 2; the latter is identified as John's nephew by Blake ("Deux lacunes comblées dans la Passio XX monachorum," 40–42) and Nasrallah (*Mouvement littéraire dans l'église grecque* 2.2, 157). On John, his father and grandfather see Cheikho, *Les vizirs et secrétaires arabes chrétiens*, 72–75.

it in 635;[86] and Sarjūn ibn Manṣūr, his father, secretary for Mu'āwiya, Yazīd, Mu'āwiya ibn Yazīd, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and 'Abd al-Malik.[87] The Arabic biography of John says that "Manṣūr died and his son John became secretary to the emir of the city."[88] The derivative Greek *Lives* make ever more grandiose claims, and that John was a senior official in the Muslim government has been accepted by all modern scholars. Yet there is no mention at all of John in Arabic sources, where it is asserted that Sarjūn left *ca.* 700 when the language of administration was changed to Arabic.[89] That he held some financial post is, however, intimated by the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787, which report:

> John, who is insultingly called Mansour by all, abandoned all, emulating the evangelist Matthew, and followed Christ, considering the shame of Christ as a richness superior to the treasures which are in Arabia. He chose rather to suffer with

[86]Eutychius, *Annales*, 2.5, 2.13–15, who describes how Manṣūr bore a grudge because Heraclius had treated him harshly and so betrayed Damascus to the Arabs; Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire 3B*, 1137, says that Eutychius must have conflated father and son. *Chron. 1234*, 1.248, says that the surrender of Damascus was negotiated by "the deacon John bar Sarjūn, himself a Damascene, who was loved and well-known among the Arabs." Arabic sources, however, speak variously of a monk, bishop, patrician, lord of Damascus, general Bāhān or *Nsṭās ibn Nsṭūs* (for references see Noth, "*Futūḥ*-History," 454).

[87]Ṭabarī, 2.837; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 23, 31–33, 40; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 302, 306–307, 312 (has Ibn Sarjūn), 316; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 7.174 (has Ibn Sarjūn), 16.70; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, 4.171, 247, 252, 5.124, 147–48. His name often has the epithet "the Byzantine" (*al-rūmī*) or "the Christian" (*al-naṣrānī*). Christian sources say he used his influence with 'Abd al-Malik to oppress non-Chalcedonians (Michael the Syrian 11.XVI, 449/477 [discredited Athanasius bar Gumaye, secretary to the governor of Egypt; cf. Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 34–35]; 11.XX, 458/492), and to save the pillars at Gethsemane from being used to refurbish Mecca's mosque (Theophanes, 365, where he is described as a "most Christian man," "treasurer [*genikos logothetēs*]" and "on close terms with Abd al-Malik").

[88]John of Damascus, *Arabic Life*, 15.

[89]Sarjūn is said to have been tardy in executing an order of 'Abd al-Malik, thinking himself indispensable; on account of his conceit (*idlāl*) the caliph sought a way to oust him and was advised to replace Greek with Arabic as the language of the bureaucracy (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, 4.252; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 40; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 242). But this is only one of a number of anecdotal explanations for this policy change (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 193).

> the people of God than to enjoy the temporary pleasure of sin.[90]

Otherwise, the earliest writers simply call him priest and monk.[91] The Arab colouring of John's upbringing is also often stressed, but weakly documented. It is said that at the parties of the caliph Yazīd I (680–83) "his freedman (*mawlā*) Sarjūn the Christian and Akhṭal would join in the merriment."[92] Nasrallah decided that Sarjūn must by then have been too old to carouse and that his son John must be meant.[93] The same source tells us that Akhṭal *once* stayed at the house of Sarjūn, which has been elaborated by Lammens into friendship between the poet and John. Subsequent scholars have taken this friendship as axiomatic.[94]

Another matter one would like to be able to clarify is the chronological parameters of John's life. Of the date of his birth there is no indication in any source. The Acts of the Council of Hiereia state that "the Trinity has deposed (*katheilen*) these three," namely Germanus of Constantinople, George of Cyprus, and John. If one takes this to mean they have died—which is not, however, certain—then we have a *terminus ante quem* of 754 for John's death.[95] In one part of his *Fount of Knowledge* there is a dedication to "Cosmas, bishop of Maiouma;"

[90] *Concilia sacra*, 13.357; Matthew was originally a tax-collector.

[91] Theophanes, 408 (*presbyteros kai monachos*); Stephen the Younger, *Life*, *PG* 100, 1120A (*ho timiōtatos kai sophōtatos Iōannēs ho Damaskēnos presbyteros*). Thus also he is called in Peter of Capitolias, *Passion*, "title" (tr. Peeters, 301).

[92] Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 16.70; cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 4.1, 288: "Yazīd would indulge in drinking with Sarjūn, freedman of Mu'āwiya." Akhṭal was a famous Christian Arab poet.

[93] Nasrallah, *Saint Jean de Damas*, 66–67. It is worth bearing in mind that Sergius is a common name; for example, 'Abd al-Malik had a Nestorian physician named Sarjūn (Assemani, *BO* 3.2, 100), who slandered the catholicos Ḥnanisho' before the caliph (Mārī, *Kitāb al-majdal*, 64/56).

[94] Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 7.174; Lammens, "Chantre des Omiades," 124; Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 38–39; Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: écrits sur l'Islam*, 51.

[95] *Concilia sacra*, 13.356C–D; see Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Constantine*, 108–109 and esp. n. 183. Vailhé, "Date de la mort de Jean Damascène," 28–30, had proposed 749, basing himself on indications in the life of Stephen the Sabaite (d. 794), whom he wrongly assumed to be John's nephew. Stephen the Sabaite, *Arabic Life* LXXVII, 381, refers to Stephen ibn Manṣūr al-Dimashqī (*Greek Life* XV, 607, just says "Stephen of our laura") separately from Stephen the Sabaite.

Theophanes reports that a Peter of Maiouma was executed in 742, and it has been deduced from these two facts that the work was composed in or soon after 743.[96] But the dedication seems secondary, and in any case Theophanes portrays Peter as a financial secretary, not a bishop, and Peeters has identified him with Peter of Capitolias, who died in 715.[97] John is also "known" to have written while at Mar Saba monastery, but no early source attests this, and he is absent from an early ninth-century list of past Mar Saba luminaries.[98] Our earliest biographical reference to John comes from Theophanes, who, under the year 729, simply says: "In Damascus of Syria there shone forth in his life and discourse John of the Golden Stream (*Chrysorrhoas*), son of Manṣūr, a presbyter and a monk, a most excellent teacher."[99] All that one may assume with some certainty is that since a number of his writings are in defence of the worship of images, John was chiefly active after 730, when Leo III convened a formal meeting to proclaim his condemnation of icons.

The problem of John's biography is that, for want of other material, scholars have relied heavily upon the Arabic *Life* and its derivatory Greek models, which are lacking in concrete details but rich in legendary and fanciful stories.[100] Almost the whole of the Arabic *Life* is taken up with the tale of Cosmas, with the emperor Leo's calumny of John

[96]Most scholars following Jugie, "Jean Damascène (saint)," 706.

[97]Theophanes, 416–17; see the entry on "Peter of Capitolias" in Chapter 9 above. Kazhdan and Gero, "Kosmas of Jerusalem: His Biography," 123, state that the dedication to Cosmas is most likely a secondary addition since it does not feature in the text itself, only in the lemma, and an eleventh-century Georgian translation omits it.

[98]Given in Michael the Sabaite, *Passion*, §15 (epilogue).

[99]Theophanes, 408 (tr. Mango, AM 6221); Nicephorus, §72, only mentions his anathematisation at the Council of Hiereia.

[100]There are three manuscripts containing the Arabic *Life*; one has a prologue which relates how a certain monk Michael came to write the account in 1084. But the first Greek version, which claims to be made from the Arabic by "John, patriarch of Jerusalem," appears in a tenth-century manuscript. Hemmerdinger, "La *Vita* arabe de saint Jean Damascène," argues that the prologue is not part of the original Arabic version, that the Greek *Life* was written by the John who was patriarch of Jerusalem 964–69, and that the Arabic *Life* must antedate this. However, the Arabic *Life* that we have need not have been the one used by patriarch John and there seems no cogent reason to reject Michael's claims. See Peeters, "Review;" Sahas,

before the caliph (who amputated John's right hand, which was then restored by the agency of the Virgin Mary), with miraculous incidents at Mar Saba and with the testimony of Stephen the Younger.[101] Figures such as the emir of the city and the abbot of Mar Saba are alluded to but never named, and matters like John's childhood and part in the Arab administration are dealt with in one line. But why are there so few facts about John? Perhaps, as Theophanes says, he was simply a "priest and monk," a reclusive man who, however, reached out far with his pen.[102]

What is sure is that John of Damascus was a prolific writer on theological matters and a hymnographer of no mean talent. His principal achievement is the *Fount of Knowledge*, which represents the earliest systematic exposition of the orthodox faith. It comprises three parts: the *Dialectica* (or "Philosophical Chapters"), which provides the basic intellectual tools wherewith to proceed to an understanding of the faith; the *De haeresibus*, which outlines the errors to avoid along the way; and the *De fide orthodoxa*, which details the goal, namely right belief. The book of heresies largely incorporates a similar compilation made in the fourth century by Epiphanius of Salamis, then adds a few later examples to bring the number up to 100.[103] Islam occupies the last place, after Monotheletism. Surprise has sometimes been registered at Islam being described as a Christian heresy, but that is clearly not what is meant here. The first twenty heresies discussed are pre-Christian and are presented as stemming from four major groups: Barbarism, Scythism, Hellenism and Judaism, which are labelled "the

John of Damascus on Islam, 32–35; Kazhdan and Gero, "Kosmas of Jerusalem: His Biography," 126.

[101]This yields a *terminus post quem* for the Arabic *Life* of John of 808 when the *Life* of Stephen the Younger was written (Gill, "The Life of Stephen the Younger," 128).

[102]Cf. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," 117–18, who says John's hymns suggest he was living in a "Christian ghetto." For a full discussion of John's biography see now Auzépy, "Etienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène," 193–203; Kotter, "Johannes von Damaskos," 130–32, gives further bibliography.

[103]Thus most of the oldest manuscripts; *PG* 94 has 103, the autoproscoptae (put in position 100, so making Islam no. 101), iconoclasts (102) and aposchites (103) having been added later. The manuscript tradition of the text is discussed by Kotter, *Überlieferung der Pege Gnoseos*, 197–214.

mothers and prototypes of all the heresies." Evidently, then, the term simply signifies an erroneous belief or a false doctrine.[104]

There has been much debate over the authorship of the chapter on Islam. The matter is important, for, if genuinely by John of Damascus, it represents the earliest Greek polemical writing against Islam.[105] Arguments for a late date of composition are, however, no longer tenable since the researches of Kotter, who has brought to light a ninth-century manuscript containing the text. Moreover, the first two paragraphs are cited by an anonymous florilegium of even earlier date, which includes a résumé of the *De haeresibus*.[106] Authenticity is still a problem, for the chapter stands apart from the rest of the work by reason of its length and style. But since it must have been written, if not by John of Damascus himself, then by a near contemporary, the question does not affect appreciation of the text as an example of early Byzantine polemic.

Chapter 100/101 of the *De haeresibus* aims to give the reader a succinct introduction to Islam, beginning with an explanation of its origin and emergence:

> There is also the people-deceiving cult (*thrēskeia*) of the Ishmaelites, the forerunner of the Antichrist, which prevails until now. It derives from Ishmael, who was born to Abraham from Hagar, wherefore they are called Hagarenes and Ishmaelites. And they call them Saracens, inasmuch as they were [sent away] empty-handed by Sarah (*ek tēs Sarras kenous*); for it was said to the angel by Hagar: "Sarah has sent me away empty-handed" (cf. Genesis xxi.10, 14).
>
> These, then, were idolaters and worshippers of the morning star and Aphrodite whom in fact they called *Chabar*

[104]See Sahas, "John of Damascus on Islam Revisited," 112–14.

[105]As was noted by Abel ("Le chapitre CI de Jean Damascène," 5), the chief opponent of its authenticity.

[106]Kotter, *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 4.4 (i.e. Ms. Moscow Synod. gr. 315); Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, 270 (at xiii he dates the manuscript to the period 750–850). For the most recent comment on this question see Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 38–43.

> in their own language, which means "great."[107] So until the times of Heraclius they were plain idolaters. From that time till now a false prophet appeared among them, surnamed Muḥammad (*Mamed*), who, having happened upon the Old and the New Testament and apparently having conversed, in like manner, with an Arian monk, put together his own heresy. And after ingratiating himself with the people by a pretence of piety, he spread rumours of a scripture (*graphē*) brought down to him from heaven. So, having drafted some ludicrous doctrines in his book, he handed over to them this form of worship (*to sebas*).[108]

The introduction continues with a concise exposition of the Muslim view of God and Christ and a demand for the credentials establishing Muḥammad's prophethood; there then follows an apologetic section in which response is made to two charges brought by Muslims against Christians:

> They call us associators (*hetairiastas*)[109] because, they say, we introduce to God an associate by saying Christ is the Son of God and God. To them we say that the prophets and the scripture have transmitted this, and you, as you affirm, accept the prophets....Again we say to them: "How, when you say that Christ is the Word and Spirit of God, do you revile us as associators? For the Word and the Spirit are inseparable....So we call you mutilators (*koptas*) of God."
>
> They misrepresent us as idolaters because we prostrate ourselves before the cross, which they loathe. And we say to them: "How then do you rub yourselves on a stone at your

[107]For an explanation of this point see the entry on "Germanus" in Chapter 3 above.

[108]John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 60–61 (= *PG* 94, 764A–765A).

[109]This is a translation of the term *mushrikūn*, which the Qur'an applies to all those who ascribe a partner to God; cf. *Christian Arabic Disputation (PSR 438)*, 10: *fa-ammā qawlukum tad'ūnā mushrikīn li-annā naj'alu lillāh [sharīkan]....*

> Ka'ba (*Chabatha*)[110] and hail the stone with fond kisses?" ....This, then, which they call "stone," is the head of Aphrodite, whom they used to worship and whom they call *Chabar*.[111]

Next comes an attack upon and lampoon of the Qur'an:

> This Muḥammad, as it has been mentioned, composed many frivolous tales, to each of which he assigned a name, like the text (*graphē*) of the Woman, in which he clearly prescribes the taking of four wives and one thousand concubines, if it is possible (story of Zayd is told; cf. Qur'an xxxiii.37)....Another is the text of the Camel of God, about which he says that there was a camel from God (story of Ṣāliḥ's camel; cf. Qur'an xci.11–14, vii.77)....You say that in paradise you will have three rivers flowing with water, wine and milk (cf. Qur'an ii.25, xviii.31, xxii.23)....Again, Muḥammad mentions the text of the Table. He says that Christ requested from God a table and it was given to him, for God, he says, told him: "I have given to you and those with you an incorruptible table." Again, he mentions the text of the Cow and several other foolish and ludicrous things which, because of their number, I think I should pass over.[112]

The tract concludes with a note on some Muslim laws:

> He prescribed that they be circumcised, women as well, and he commanded neither to observe the sabbath nor to be baptised, to eat those things forbidden in the Law and to abstain from the others. Drinking of wine he forbade absolutely.[113]

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[110]The *theta* is presumably meant to convey the feminine ending of the Arabic word (*tā' marbūṭa*); cf. Jacob of Edessa, *Letter to John the Stylite* no. 14, fol. 124a (*ka'btā*).

[111]John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 63–64 (= *PG* 94, 765C–769B).

[112]*Ibid.* C/CI, 64–67 (= *PG* 94, 769B–772D).

[113]*Ibid.* C/CI, 67 (= *PG* 94, 773A).

This composition exerted great influence upon the language,[114] tone and content of subsequent Byzantine polemic against Islam. The subjects of Christology, Muḥammad's prophethood and scripture, worship of the cross and Muslim licentiousness, as evidenced by the story of Zayd[115] and the description of paradise, were all to feature time and time again and to be presented in the same hostile fashion. But though unsympathetic, the author is well informed,[116] as is well illustrated by the presentation of the Muslim view of Christ:

> He says Christ is the Word of God and His Spirit (cf. Qur'an iv.171), created (iii.59) and a servant (iv.172, xix.30, xliii.59), and that he was born from Mary (iii.45, and cf. *'Īsā ibn Maryam*), the sister of Moses and Aaron (xix.28), without seed (iii.47, xix.20, xxi.91, lxvi.12). For, he says, the Word of God and the Spirit entered Mary (xix.17, xxi.91, lxvi.12), and she gave birth to Jesus, a prophet (ix.30, xxxiii.7) and a servant of God. And [he says] that the Jews, acting unlawfully, wanted to crucify him, but, on seizing [him], they crucified [only] his shadow; Christ himself was not crucified, he says, nor did he die (iv.157). For God took him up to heaven to Himself... and God questioned him saying: "Jesus, did you say that 'I am son of God and

[114]For example, John's use of the term "cult" (*thrēskeia*) to refer to Islam—in contrast to Christianity which is described as a "faith" (*pistis*)—is followed by almost all later Greek writers, as also is the characterisation of Muḥammad as a "false prophet" (*pseudoprophētēs*).

[115]Against those who say Muḥammad concealed much of the Qur'an, a mid to late Umayyad Muslim polemicist asserts: "If the Prophet of God were to have concealed anything of what God sent down to him, he would have concealed the matter of the wife of Zayd." Is that because it was already being picked on by Christians? (text in van Ess, "Das *Kitāb al-irǧā'*," 24; discussion of date by Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 68–88).

[116]The contrary opinion held by Merrill, "Tractate of John of Damascus on Islam," and Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," has been disproven by the detailed studies on chapter 100/101 by Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 55–65; Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 67–95; Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: écrits sur l'Islam*, 70–80, 89–133.

> God?'" And, he says, Jesus answered: "Mercy me, Lord, you know that I did not say so (v.116)...."[117]

These and the many other allusions to, and even direct quotations from, the Qur'an interspersed throughout the chapter demonstrate that the author had access to that work.[118] Other information on Islam probably derives from oral sources; for example, the expanded stories of Zayd and of Ṣāliḥ's camel, and the tales about the "stone:" that Abraham had intercourse with Hagar on it or tethered his camel to it, and that there are traces of inscriptions upon it "even until now."[119] Finally, some material is drawn from Byzantine sources, such as the observations on the Arabs' former worship of Aphrodite.[120]

To John of Damascus there has also been attributed a "disputation between a Saracen and a Christian." This contains a long discussion on the subject of God's omnipotence and man's free will, followed by brief debates on Christ (he is uncreated Word of God, how could he as God enter a woman's womb,[121] did he eat and drink), the death of the Virgin Mary and the relation of John the Baptist to Christ. The text is found in inverted order, with numerous variations, and is cited anonymously in all manuscripts bar one;[122] internally it has no logical plan or overall unity and has a number of incomprehensible passages. Evidently, as we have it now, it is composite and so, though plausibly constructed from his teachings, it cannot have been written by John of Damascus himself.[123]

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[117]John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 61 (= *PG* 94, 765A–B).

[118]Carefully documented by Khoury, "Jean Damascène et l'Islam," 52–62.

[119]For the latter point see Kister, "Maqām Ibrāhīm: a Stone with an Inscription." The "black stone with an inscription" is mentioned in the official T'ang histories (see the entry thereon in Chapter 7 above).

[120]See the entry on "Germanus" in Chapter 3 above.

[121]Note that this particular objection, which features in numerous Muslim tracts against Christianity (e.g. Wāṣil–Bashīr, *Disputation*, 322), also appears in earlier anti-Jewish works (e.g. *Trophies of Damascus* II.5.1, 225).

[122]See Kotter, *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 4.420–26; the one version that is not anonymous is attributed to a Sisinnios Grammatikos.

[123]See Griffith, "Free Will in Christian *Kalām*: Abū Qurrah," 82–91 (who assigns the *Disputation* in its present form to Theodore Abū Qurra), and Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 59–62 (who ascribe it to John the Deacon, student of Abū Qurra). It has been analysed by Khoury, *Théologiens*

The Correspondence of Leo III (717–41) and 'Umar II (717–20)[124]

These two rulers were both known as zealous reformers of their respective faiths, Leo for his iconoclasm and forcible baptism of Jews, 'Umar for his fiscal innovations favouring converts to Islam and rigorous enforcement of Muslim law. And it is on matters of faith that the two are most well known to have corresponded. Theophanes tells us: "He ('Umar) composed a theological letter for Leo the emperor, thinking to persuade him to become a Muslim (*magarisai*)."[125] A fuller statement is given by Agapius:

> He ('Umar) wrote for Leo the king a letter summoning him therein to Islam and, moreover, disputed with him about his religion. Leo made him a reply in which he tore apart his argument and made clear to him the unsoundness of his statement, and elucidated to him the light of Christianity by proofs from the revealed Books and by comparisons from the insights and inclinations of the Qur'an.[126]

This notice is preceded in both Theophanes and Agapius by brief entries on "a violent earthquake" and 'Umar's banning of wine, and so it may well be that they draw on a common source and Agapius preserves more fully a report which Theophanes has abbreviated.[127]

The earliest and most detailed extant account is provided by Lewond, a late eighth-century Armenian chronicler, who also gives what

byzantins, 68–82; Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 99–122; Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: écrits sur Islam*, 80–87, 135–82, 198–203. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 4.2, 323, states that Ms. Vatican arab 175, contains an Arabic refutation of Islam by John (noted also by Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 48, and Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," 117). This seems not to be so (see Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: écrits sur l'Islam*, 59 n. 4); if it exists at all, this work is probably just an Arabic translation of the chapter on Islam in John's *De haeresibus*.

[124]This entry has already been published as a separate article (see Hoyland, "The Correspondence of Leo III and 'Umar II").

[125]Theophanes, 399; see Kahane, "Die Magariten," 194–95, for this verb.

[126]Agapius, 503.

[127]The obvious common source would be Theophilus of Edessa (see the entry on him in Chapter 10 above), but Michael the Syrian and *Chron. 1234*, who use Theophilus via Dionysius, make no mention of 'Umar's letter or his banning of wine.

he claims are the texts of this epistolary exchange. In the opinion of Gero, however, these were fashioned and interpolated by an eleventh or twelfth-century reviser of Lewond. He argues that the narrative framework of the correspondence is taken from the tenth-century history of Thomas Artsruni,[128] and that Lewond's entries on Yazīd II and Hishām have been lifted from the eleventh-century *Universal History* of Stephen of Taron.[129]

He attempts to prove this first by demonstrating the awkwardness of the adaptation. The narrative on 'Umar begins: "(Sulaymān) was succeeded by 'Umar who reigned for two years and five months and then died," and his reign is then described as though, says Gero, "'Umar reappears from the dead." But, as Gero was surely aware, this is how Lewond introduces most of the caliphs. The account of "'Umar's supposed kindness to the Armenians" and "partiality towards the Armenian nobility" is fabricated, says Gero, but this is a very tendentious reading of the text, which simply has:

> We are told that he was the noblest among the men of his race. He had the captives return home, those who had been taken into captivity from Armenia by Muḥammad (ibn Marwān)....And when 'Umar was entrusted with the rule he released all the captives and let them return to their respective places.[130]

Moreover, it is known from elsewhere that 'Umar was indeed responsible for freeing the Armenian prisoners-of-war held in Damascus.[131] 'Umar's alleged change of heart after reading Leo's letter is "a clumsy sequence," says Gero, for the caliph's benevolence towards the Christians had already been noted. Yes indeed, but Lewond's aim is clearly to explain this benevolence, namely that Leo's reply had shamed him into it:

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[128]Thomson, "Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Tradition," 839, points out that Thomas does not say he has the letter from Lewond, but, as Thomson notes elsewhere in the same article, Thomas does not name his sources.

[129]Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 138–40.

[130]Lewond, XIII (tr. Arzoumanian, 70); Thomas Artsruni, 2.IV (tr. Thomson, 171) has: "He was the most noble of them all."

[131]Vahan of Golt'n, *Passion*, IV (tr. Gatteyrias, 188).

> As he ('Umar) read the letter, he felt very confused.[132] As a result of this letter he now exercised more temperance and indulgence towards the Christian people, presenting himself everywhere as an obliging person and, as we said earlier, he was the one who allowed the captives to return after pardoning them for their faults.[133]

Gero's claim that the material in Lewond on Yazīd II and Hishām is mostly from Stephen of Taron, supplemented by "fanciful elaborations," is likewise unconvincing. Lewond's *History*, which spans only 160 years, is generally anecdotal and full of speeches and rhetoric, whereas Stephen, who is writing a universal history, is far more concise. It is, therefore, at least as likely that Stephen gives an excised version of Lewond, whom he does indeed acknowledge as a source.[134]

The second argument put forward by Gero is that Leo's letter in Lewond is not a translation or reworking from Greek, as has been generally thought, but was written originally in Armenian.[135] The points in favour of a Greek ur-text are slight—Leo refers to "our Greek tongue," calls the Pentateuch *nomos* and uses the Septuagint names for Chronicles and Canticles[136]—and so Gero has no problem in explaining them away. But his only positive argument is that the Armenian Vulgate rather than the Septuagint has been used for scriptural citations, which

[132]The text literally reads: "He was greatly ashamed by confusion."

[133]Lewond, XV (tr. Arzoumanian, 105–106); Thomas Artsruni, 2.IV (tr. Thomson, 171), is here copying from Lewond, as Thomson, *Thomas Artsruni*, 37, notes.

[134]Stephen Asolik of Taron, *Universal History*, 1.I (tr. Dulaurier, 4), says he uses "the history of Lewond the priest who informs us about the invasions of the Arabs and the woes which their tyranny visited upon Armenian;" one cannot infer from this, as does Gero (*Byzantine Iconoclasm...Leo*, 137), "that Stephen could use Lewond's work for local events in Armenia only."

[135]*Ibid.*, 164–70. Note that Meimaris, *Katalogos/katālūg*, 41/43, signals an Arabic Sinai manuscript containing a letter of 'Umar to Leo, which may affect the question of the original language of the dispute (though I can see no obvious resemblances to our text in the two photographs published by Meimaris).

[136]These and other arguments are given by Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, 44–45 n. 50, and followed by Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 201–202.

is a common practice among translators.[137] And the principal argument for a Greek original—namely in what other language could one hope to pass off a letter of Leo?—is not considered by Gero.

There is, therefore, reason to be sceptical about Gero's conclusions regarding the Leo–'Umar correspondence. The issue can now be resolved to some extent in the light of the studies of Gaudeul, who claims to have unearthed the original letter of 'Umar to Leo.[138] He recovers this from two documents: the first half from an Aljamiado (Romance written in Arabic characters) text of the early sixteenth century, the second half from a ninth-century Arabic text. Though both are defective, they overlap for ten paragraphs and can be seen to resemble each other so exactly that they must be versions of the same document. The nature of this document is explained in the title of the Aljamiado text: "This is the epistle that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, king of the believers, wrote to Lyon, king of the Christian infidels." This letter, as reconstructed from the two texts, voices most of the objections to which Leo's letter in Lewond is responding, and does so in a very similar order and using similar expressions. Certain themes are distinctive and not found in other Muslim–Christian dispute texts, such as the alleged saying of Jesus that "naked you came into the world, and naked you shall go" and that "God made Satan a treasurer," and so their presence in both the Arabic/Aljamiado and Armenian documents makes it certain that they are somehow related.

The Aljamiado text is equipped with a chain of transmitters (*isnād*), which begins: "Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Awf al-Ṭā'ī passed it on to us in the town of Ḥimṣ." Gaudeul takes this man, or a contemporary of his, to be the author, because his death date of 885 coincides with the estimated time of composition of the Arabic text. By the late ninth

[137]Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 165 n. 36, observes that Chahnazarian and Jeffery used French and English Bibles when translating Lewond, rather than rendering from the Armenian.

[138]Gaudeul, "The Correspondence between Leo and 'Umar," gives full discussion. Gero (*Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 162–63), and Thomson ("Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Tradition," 839), point out the very "cursory" nature of 'Umar's letter in Lewond, but the latter does state explicitly that he is only giving a summary, and one should note that there are remarkable similarities between his epitome and the material about to be discussed, which may mean that Lewond was telling the truth.

century, however, *isnād* criticism was highly developed and scholarship professional, so one should not simply dismiss *isnāds* as fictitious without some consideration. Sourdel, the editor of the Arabic text, gives the late ninth/early tenth century as a *terminus ante quem*, and notes that the text compares well with a manuscript of 857.[139] Moreover, the text as we have it could be a copy. The rest of the *isnād* runs: "It has been transmitted to us by 'Abd al-Quddūs ibn al-Ḥajjāj who said: it has been transmitted to us by Isma'īl ibn 'Ayyāsh." These were both scholars of Ḥimṣ who died in 827 and 798 respectively, so it is plausible that they transmitted from each other. That there is no attempt to get back to 'Umar himself is another point in the *isnād*'s favour.

Ostensibly, then, the text of 'Umar's letter to Leo originates from the end of the eighth century. This is not impossible, and certainly it fits well with the comment in Leo's reply that "it is now 800 years since Jesus Christ appeared."[140] It also accords with what we know of this period, which witnessed the efflorescence of Muslim–Christian debate. Finally, it coincides with the time of writing of Lewond, who would then have picked it up very soon after its composition and incorporated it into his *History*.[141] The only concrete reason advanced by scholars for a later date is the mention in Leo's reply of the "Jahdi who deny both the existence of God and the resurrection," who have been identified as the "Jāḥiẓīya," followers off the writer Jāḥiẓ (d. 869).[142] Aside from the fact that Jāḥiẓ certainly did not reject God's existence or the resurrection, this sect is totally fictitious. It is difficult after translation from Arabic to Armenian, very likely via Greek, to determine who are meant, but certainly not devotees of Jāḥiẓ.[143]

Gaudeul concludes that a Muslim writer of Ḥimṣ drew up this letter, presenting it as from 'Umar to Leo, and soon afterwards a Christian answered, assuming the identity of Leo. Muslims kept "'Umar's letter,"

[139]Sourdel, "Un pamphlet musulman anonyme," 2–3.

[140]Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 296.

[141]This halts in the year 788 and the last few entries give evidence of eyewitness material.

[142]Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text," 276; Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 202–203; Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 163 n. 31.

[143]See Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 163 n. 26, 165 n. 49; Newman, *Early Christian-Muslim Dialogue*, 49, suggests that the Yazīdīs are meant.

of which one copy reached Spain and was translated into Romance and continued being copied as late as the sixteenth century. Christians kept "Leo's letter" and translated it into Armenian, whence it became integrated into Lewond's *History*.[144] The story is not, however, so simple, for 'Umar's letter not only contains objections which Leo then answers, but also responds to Leo's replies:

LEO–'UMAR: "We do not hope to find there (in paradise) springs of wine, honey or milk. We do not expect to enjoy there commerce with women who remain forever virgin and to have children by them."

'UMAR–LEO: "You wrote rebuking us for saying that the inhabitants of paradise eat, drink, wear clothes and get married."

LEO–'UMAR: "Do you feel no shame to have venerated that house which is called the Ka'ba, the dwelling of Abraham...?"

'UMAR–LEO: "You wrote rebuking us for turning to face the direction of Abraham's place of worship when we pray...."

LEO–'UMAR: "As a consequence of this licence (given by Muḥammad) a goodly number of you have contracted the habit of multiplying their commerce with women as if it were a question of tilling the fields."

'UMAR–LEO: "You rebuke us as well for having many women."

LEO–'UMAR: Nor can I forget the unchasteness of your Prophet and the manner full of artifice whereby he succeeded in seducing the woman Zeda....As for the example of David who took Uriya's wife, as you remind me, it is well known that therein he committed a sin before the Eternal."

'UMAR–LEO: "You rebuke us because our Prophet married a woman (Zaynab) whom her husband had repudiated....It is indeed what David did in the case of Uriya and his wife."[145]

[144]Gaudeul, "The Correspondence between Leo and 'Umar," 127–28.

[145]Leo-'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 322–24, 328; 'Umar–Leo, *Letter* (Arabic), 31–32/22–24.

The last example is particularly noteworthy, for not only is 'Umar defending himself against Leo's accusation: David did the same, but Leo's accusation includes a reply to that defence: David was wrong. Moreover, though the subjects are the same, 'Umar's replies, especially the first two, do not exactly fit the criticisms of Leo. It is, therefore, evident that we do not have here a simple exchange of letters.

Both 'Umar and Leo open their address by mentioning previous correspondence. 'Umar says:

> You have written to me many letters where you have treated questions concerning Jesus and your religion, questions that you treat personally and upon which your messenger enlarged. I do not know what made you write to me again. Is it because you want to verify what it was I wrote to you about?[146]

Leo asserts that "it is true that we have several times written to you... but it has always been about mundane affairs, never about affairs divine." There is, however, reason to doubt this, for though he avers that "nothing would induce us to discuss with you our doctrines, since our Lord and Master Himself has bidden us refrain from exposing our unique and divine doctrine before heretics," he nevertheless continues by saying that "Holy Writ bids us reply to those who question us."[147] A possible solution, then, is that a number of Leo–'Umar/'Umar–Leo letters were composed in the course of the eighth century, and that what has come down to us is a compilation from or rehashing of such works.

One could adduce a number of arguments to demonstrate that at least some of the material in the text as we have it is from the early eighth century. On the Muslim side we have a report that describes the circumstances under which an exchange of religious writings took place. Allegedly 'Umar despatched to Leo 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and a certain "man from (the tribe of) 'Ans," who narrates the following:

> When we came to him (Leo), we found ourselves before a man of Arabic speech and hailing from Mar'ash. 'Abd Allāh

[146]'Umar–Leo, *Letter* (Aljamiado), fol. 85a–b (tr. Gaudeul, 133).

[147]All these quotes are from Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 282.

> began to debate, so I said "hold on" and praised God and prayed for His Prophet. Then I said: "I was sent by the same man ('Umar) as him ('Abd Allāh). Now, the commander of the faithful calls you to Islam. If you accept you will attain the right way, although I myself think that misery is already decreed for you unless God wishes otherwise. If you accept [well and good]; if not, write a reply to *our letter*."[148]

A short debate ensues between 'Abd Allāh and Leo, then the emperor "*wrote a reply* to our writings and we returned to 'Umar with it." The account is of course anecdotal and polemical, but its knowledge of Leo's eastern origins is a point in its favour.

More substantial corroboration comes in the form of a Latin version of Leo's letter to 'Umar. This was first published in 1508 by the French physician and humanist Symphorianus Champerius, who included it in his *De triplici disciplina*. In a short note which precedes the text Champerius introduces the work as follows:

> The letter of the emperor Leo (*Lenis*) addressed to 'Umar (*Amarum*), king of the Saracens. This letter was translated from Greek into the Chaldaean language. Now indeed, God willing, we shall turn [it] from the Chaldean expression (*eloquio*) into Latin in accordance with the particular nature of [that] speech (*iuxta proprietatem sermonis*).[149]

Unfortunately it is not known on what grounds Champerius claimed a Greek genealogy for this letter; it may simply have been an assumption based on Leo's authorship. Since it is a reply to a Muslim adversary, Chaldean presumably means Arabic here, a usage found elsewhere in Latin Christian writings.[150]

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[148]Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 1.295.

[149]Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Latin)—the *editio princeps* I use (Bodleian) has no pagination. The version in *Maxima bibl.* (see under Leo–'Umar in Bibliography I below) and *PG* 107 omit this note and wrongly attribute the letter to Leo VI; see Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 154–55, esp. n. 11 thereto.

[150]Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 156–62, worries too much about a Syriac version; Eulogius, Paul Albar, Sancho and other Latin Christians used Chaldean to

Gero, wishing to show that Leo's letter in Lewond is an original Armenian composition, argues "that the two letters are quite independent documents and cannot even be regarded as two separate replies to the same Muslim attack." Khoury, on the other hand, says "there is no doubt that, in the two cases, it is a matter of the same exchange of correspondence between the emperor and the caliph;" and Jeffery concurs: "the Latin, though much briefer and somewhat differently arranged, is really the same material, meeting the same Muslim objections with essentially the same arguments."[151] There are major differences between the two writings. The Latin version is only about one sixth the length of the Armenian and, unlike the Armenian, it does not make constant allusion to a letter already written. Nor does it have the distinctive features, such as the references to coming naked into the world or to Satan as God's treasurer, and it has very few Biblical quotes in common with the Armenian. It does, however, follow the same general layout: scriptures, divinity of Jesus, defence of Christian practices, attack on Muslim practices; and, like the Armenian, it simply lists Old and New Testament witnesses to Christ's divinity. Though each of the arguments is familiar from Muslim–Christian polemics, enough of them occur in both texts to guarantee that there is some relation between them. But the divergence is too great for the Latin to be an abbreviation of the Armenian or for the latter to be an expansion of the Latin. The most likely explanation is that they are two distinct redactions made from common material, probably Greek in origin and earlier than Lewond.[152]

Turning to the contents of Leo's reply, one notes the remark of the emperor to 'Umar that "it is a hundred years more or less since your religion appeared," which is correct for the reign of 'Umar (AH 99–101).[153] This could be evidence of an earlier remnant, though it could of course have been written to add verisimilitude to the purported setting. More cogent is Meyendorff's argument that "the text clearly reflects a state of mind which was predominant at the court of Constantinople in the

signify Arabic (see Daniel, *Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 32, 34, 86; Wasserstein, "A Latin Lament on the Prevalence of Arabic," 6 n. 9).

[151]Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm... Leo*, 154, cf. 162; Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 201; Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text," 273–74.

[152]*Ibid.*, 274–75; Khoury, *Théologiens Byzantins*, 201–202.

[153]Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 295.

years which preceded the iconoclastic decree of 726... for neither the iconoclasts nor the orthodox were capable, at a later date, of adopting towards the images so detached an attitude."[154] Certainly the text betrays no sign of images as a burning issue:

> As for images, we do not give them a like respect [as for the cross], not having received in holy scripture any commandment whatsoever in regard to this. Nevertheless, finding in the Old Testament that divine command which authorised Moses to have executed in the tabernacle the figures of the cherubim, and animated by a sincere attachment for the disciples of the Lord... we have always felt a desire to conserve their images, which have come down to us from their times as their living representation....But as for the wood and the colours we do not give them any reverence.[155]

And one might again see this as a vestige of an earlier version. Finally, a number of the opinions expressed about Islamic practices and beliefs are voiced in other apologetic writings of the first half of the eighth century. The attack on the Ka'ba and its stone, the licentious nature of Muslim marriage, divorce and concubinage, and the carnal vision of paradise, are all found in John of Damascus (wr. 730s).[156] Muslim acceptance of the Pentateuch and rejection of the prophets, and adherence to circumcision and sacrifice feature in the Syriac disputations involving Patriarch John of Sedra and a monk of Beth Ḥale respectively.[157]

However, some of the material is certainly of the late eighth/early ninth century. This is intimated by Leo's statement that "it is now 800 years since Christ appeared," and is reinforced by the appearance of arguments known from dispute texts of this period. That

[154]Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," 127.

[155]Leo-'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 322.

[156]*Ibid.*, 323–26, 328–29; John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 64–66 (= *PG* 94, 769A–772D). Both refer to Muḥammad marrying the wife of Zayd (cf. Qur'an xxxiii.37) and to wives as a tilth (ii.223).

[157]Scriptural position: Leo-'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 299–300; Patriarch John-Arab Emir, *Colloquy*, 248/257, 250–51/260. Circumcision and sacrifice: Leo-'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 314–15; Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 2b.

Adam, like Jesus, was not born of man and so should, according to the Christians' reasoning, also be regarded as a god, is an argument used to the same end by a number of Muslim authors of the first half of the ninth century.[158] In defence of the Muslim paradise where there is food and drink 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. *ca.* 855), a convert to Islam from Christianity, also cites Matthew xxvi.29: "I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until I drink it again with you in the kingdom of heaven."[159] The application of Isaiah xxi.7 to Muḥammad occurs early in Muslim writings and was already refuted by the patriarch Timothy (780–823).[160] And the subject of the early history of the Qur'an crops up in other polemical texts of this time. Leo says:

> It was 'Umar, Abū Turāb and Salmān the Persian who composed that ("your *P'ourkan*"), even though the rumour has got around among you that God sent it down from the heavens....As for your [Book], you have already given us examples of such falsifications and one knows among others of a certain Ḥajjāj, named by you as governor of Persia, who had men gather your ancient books, which he replaced by others composed by himself according to his taste and which he disseminated everywhere in your nation, because it was easier by far to undertake such a task among a people speaking a single language. From this destruction, nevertheless, there escaped a few of the works

[158]'Umar–Leo, *Letter* (Arabic), 27/14 = *Letter* (Aljamiado), fols. 99a–100a; Ibn Hishām, 403; Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Al-radd 'alā al-naṣārā*, 144; Jāḥiẓ, *Al-radd 'alā l-naṣārā*, 342; Wāṣil–Bashīr, *Disputation*, 322. 'Umar, Ibn Rabban and Wāṣil drive the point home by pointing out that others too had raised the dead (e.g. Ezekiel and Elisha) and worked miracles (e.g. Moses and Joshua). On the latter point see Thomas, "The Miracles of Jesus in Early Islamic Polemic." For a discussion of the Wāṣil–Bashīr text see Griffith, "Bashīr/Bēsēr," 293–313.

[159]'Umar–Leo, *Letter* (Arabic), 31/22; Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Al-dīn wa-l-dawla*, 201.

[160]Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 327–28; Muslim sources are cited by Bashear, "Riding Beasts on Divine Missions," 40–43; Timothy I, *Syriac Apology*, 110–13/37–39 = *Arabic Apology*, §§134–57.

> of Abū Turāb, for Ḥajjāj could not make them disappear completely.[161]

A very similar version of events is narrated by 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī and Abraham of Tiberias, both allegedly writing in the reign of Ma'mūn (813–33). They speak of the part played by various Companions of Muḥammad in putting together the Qur'an and of the first redaction made by 'Uthmān:

> Then there was the matter of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, namely that he gathered together every last copy and caused to be omitted from the text many things..., and a version (*naskh*) was written according to the composition (*ta'līf*) favoured by Ḥajjāj in six copies (*maṣāḥif*), and one was sent to Egypt, another to Syria, another to Medina, another to Mecca, another to Kufa and another to Baṣra.[162]

Kindī avers to his Muslim addressee that "all that I have said is drawn from your own authorities." And this would appear to be so, for we find notices in Arabic sources that "Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf wrote exemplars of the Qur'an (*maṣāḥif*) and sent them to the chief cities (*al-amṣār*),"[163] that he changed the wording or eliminated variant readings,[164] or introduced diacritical marks into the text.[165] The convergence of reports upon the figure of Ḥajjāj makes it almost certain that he undertook some sort of revision of the Muslim scripture, but this may have been no more than the sponsoring of an improved edition.[166]

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[161]Leo–'Umar, *Letter* (Armenian), 292, 297–98.

[162]Kindi, *Letter to al-Hāshimī*, 137; Abraham of Tiberias, *Dialogue* CXXVI, 331, says Ḥajjāj "compiled it and arranged it" (*allafahu wa-rattabahu*). Both also mention the survival of 'Alī's copy (for his role in writing/editing the Qur'an see Nöldeke and Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2.8–11).

[163]Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-Madīna*, 1.7; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4.72; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb al-ta'rīkh*, 4.82.

[164]Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 49–50, 117–18 (*Bāb mā ghayyara al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf fī muṣḥaf 'Uthmān*); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 4.463, and Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb al-ta'rīkh*, 4.69 (opposition to Mas'ūd's reading).

[165]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 2.32; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 119.

[166]He was acting for the caliph, if one accepts the reference in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 11.264, to 'Abd al-Malik's collection of the Qur'an. See further Mingana, "Transmission of the Kur'ān;" Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 17–18.

Christian Arabic Texts[167]

The most famous early Christian apologetes who wrote in Arabic were the Nestorian 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (d. *ca.* 850), the Melkite Theodore Abū Qurra (d. *ca.* 820s) and the Jacobite Abū Rā'iṭa al-Takrītī (d. *ca.* 830s).[168] Of early Muslim polemicists whose works survive there is 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 855), Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm (d. *ca.* 860), Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq (d. 861) and Jāḥiẓ (d. 869).[169] Though these are all too late to concern us here, we shall have a brief look at their forerunners.

Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid

The earliest example of Christian apologetic in Arabic that we have is the treatise entitled *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* ("On the Triune Nature of God"). Its credal position is stated clearly from the start:

> We do not say three Gods... but we say that God and His Word and His Spirit are one God and one Creator....We do not say that God begat His Word as any man begets—God forbid! Rather we say that the Father begat his Word as the sun begets rays, as the mind begets speech (*al-kilma*) and as the fire begets heat.[170]

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[167]Dispute texts in Christian Arabic against Muslims are surveyed by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1975), 152–69; Griffith, "Muḥammad's Scripture and Message," 102–104; Haddad, *La trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes*, 25–81. Thematic studies are given by Khoury, *La controverse théologique islamo-chrétienne de langue arabe*; Rissanen, *Theological Encounter of Oriental Christians with Islam*.

[168]Griffith, "'Ammār al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Burhān*;" *idem*, "Theodore Abū Qurrah: Intellectual Profile;" *idem*, "Ḥabīb b. Ḫidmah Abū Rā'iṭah."

[169]For references and discussion see Bouamama, *La littérature polémique musulmane contre le christianisme*; Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam*, 31–50.

[170]*Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, 75–77/4–5. The text is discussed by Harris, "A Tract on the Triune Nature of God" (who demonstrates the affinity of the tract with earlier anti-Jewish literature), very briefly by Nasrallah, *Mouvement littéraire dans l'église grecque* 2.2, 145–46, and at length by Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity."

By these words the author reveals his intention to respond to the most fundamental Muslim objections to Christianity, prevalent in the Qur'an and the earliest official inscriptions, that God is not three and "God does not beget and was not begotten." After some elaboration of this point the author sets out how he will continue:

> This, then, is our faith and our testimony in God and His Word and His Spirit: He is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God and one Lord. As for Christ, in him He saved and delivered mankind, and we shall expound that, God willing, how God sent His Word and His Light as a mercy and guidance to men, and favoured them by him.[171]

The argumentation is simple and there is heavy reliance on the Bible for both quotations and the development of ideas. What makes this text interesting is its extensive recourse to Qur'anic vocabulary and phraseology, and on eight occasions there is direct, if somewhat free, quotation of Qur'anic verses.[172] The date of the text is given by the assertion: "If this religion were not truly from God, it would not have endured and stood for 746 years."[173] The obvious starting point for the establishment of Christianity is the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, and by the Alexandrian world era which prevailed in the Near East at that time, this would yield the year 788.[174]

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[171] *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, 78/6–7.

[172] Examples are given by Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu*, 105. See also Graf, *GCAL*, 2.27–28; Harris, "A Tract on the Triune Nature of God," 76; Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 69–70, 108–109.

[173] Ms. Sinai arab 154, fol. 110b (which is fol. 113b in Gibson's edition; the page containing this note was, however, missed out by her): *wa-law lam yakun hādhā l-dīn ḥaqq min Allāh, lam yathbut wa-lam yaqum mundhu sab' mi'at sana wa-sitt arba'īn sana.*

[174] Griffith, "Theodore Abū Qurra: Intellectual Profile," 43 n. 3, counts from the Incarnation, which then gives us 755, but the arguments adduced by Swanson, "Considerations for Dating," 122–28, for the crucifixion are convincing (cf. also *Doctrina Jacobi* I.22, 101–103). Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity," 61–64, suggests that the Melkite era of the Incarnation was used; this places Christ's birth in 9 BC and resurrection in AD 25–26, and would date our text to 737 or 771. But Swanson gives evidence that "up to the year A.D. 900 it is exclusively the Alexandrian world eras that we find used in the Melkite circles of Palestine

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Our second text exists only as papyri fragments. It is patently a polemical writing against Islam of Christian authorship. If it is meant to be a dialogue then the Muslim plays a very minor part, for the surviving extracts are wholly taken up with declarations and assertions, objections and counter-questions posed by the Christian disputant. Again the principal aim is to demonstrate that the Trinity and Incarnation in no way compromise God's unicity, and this is corroborated by quotations from the Qur'an and the Bible. Graf states that the script resembles that found in papyri of the Heidelberg collection of the period 709–31, but that "further comparative material from the Erzhog Rainer papyrus collection puts the dating nearer to the middle or second half of the eighth century after Christ."[175] The naming of chapters from the Qur'an[176] and the many similarities to the *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* and to writings of Theodore Abū Qurra make it unlikely that this treatise predates the late eighth century.[177]

Masā'il wa-ajwiba 'aqlīya wa-ilāhīya

Plausibly dateable to this period as well is the work entitled: "Questions and [the] rational and religious answers [thereto]," in which a Muslim notable of Jerusalem poses three questions in writing to a monk. Their subject is the Trinity and Christ's nature, and the monk's reply to each

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and Mount Sinai" ("Considerations for Dating," 139), and Samir himself maintains elsewhere that the Melkite Incarnation era seems only to have been in use between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries ("L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites," 194, 200).

[175]Graf, "Christlich-arabische Texte," 3–4.

[176]*Āl 'Imrān* (iii), *al-Zukhruf* (xliii), *al-Nisā'* (iv) and *al-Baqara* (ii) are specified; otherwise Qur'anic borrowings are indicated by such expressions as "the saying of your messenger," "you say in your Qur'an," "in your book."

[177]The similarities are collated by Graf in the footnotes to his edition. Particularly noteworthy is the use by both our author (*Christian Arabic Disputation (PSR 438)*, 16–18) and Theodore Abū Qurra of Qur'an v.116 ("God said to Jesus son of Mary: Did you say to mankind 'take me and my mother for two gods beside Allah?'") followed up by the question "when did this inquiry occur?"

consists of two parts: an answer based on rational argument, and an answer drawing upon the Bible and occasionally the Qur'an. The tract is anonymous and undated, so it is only similarities with the above two Christian Arabic documents that suggest a date in the late eighth century.[178]

Jewish Texts[179]

The Ten Wise Jews

Muslim tradition is able to cite a number of Jewish rabbis who accepted Islam. Most famous were 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām and Ka'b al-Aḥbār, who were wholehearted and enthusiastic converts. Ibn Isḥāq lists eight more who "took refuge in Islam," but only "hypocritically professed it."[180] On the basis of these and other narratives,[181] Jewish polemicists elaborated accounts of how Muḥammad had been instructed by Jewish scholars. As with the legend of Baḥira the purpose was to rob Islam of any originality and to negate its claim to have direct revelation from God.[182] The most popular and influential version was of the ten wise Jews who converted to Islam in order to safeguard Israel and who participated in the composition of the Qur'an.

[178]The work is found in Ms. Sinai arab 434, fols. 171–181, dated 1138. An edition is being prepared by Dr. Mark Swanson; until then see the brief description in Haddad, *La trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes*, 38.

[179]Jewish dispute texts against Islam are surveyed by Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, 244–388; Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern;" Perlmann, "The Medieval Polemics between Islam and Judaism;" Stroumsa, "Jewish Polemics against Islam and Christianity," Section II. See also Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu*, 109–114. I say Jewish texts because they are in Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic.

[180]Ibn Hishām, 353–54 ('Abd Allāh ibn Salām), 361–62 (hypocrites); there exist many accounts of Ka'b's conversion (see *EI* [2], *s.v.*). Maybe also significant for this entry is the Prophetic saying: "If ten Jews were to believe in me, then [all] the Jews would believe in me" (Bukhārī, 2.207 [*Manāqib al-anṣār* LII]).

[181]See Hirschfeld, "Historical and Legendary Controversies between Muḥammad and the Rabbis."

[182]Though it is never quoted, Jewish and Christian polemicists may have been inspired by the Qur'anic verse: "We know well that they say 'only a man teaches him,' [but] the language of him to whom they allude is foreign, whereas this is clear Arabic speech" (xvi.103).

The earliest witness to this tale is Theophanes (d. 818), who makes use of it in his entry on Muḥammad:

> At the beginning of his advent the misguided Jews thought he was the Messiah who is awaited by them, so that some of their leaders joined him and accepted his religion while forsaking that of Moses who saw God. Those who did so were ten in number and they remained with him until his [first] sacrifice (*sphagē*).[183] But when they saw him eating camel meat,[184] they realised that he was not the one they thought him to be and were at a loss what to do. Being afraid to abjure his religion, these wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us Christians and remained with him.[185]

The first Jewish attestation is found embodied within a Hebrew anti-Karaite treatise of the late ninth or early tenth century.[186] It also exists as an independent entity in Judaeo-Arabic. The two are very similar, though the Hebrew gives a somewhat condensed rendering.[187]

[183]Cf. *Chron. 819*, 11: "Muḥammad began to reign. . . .He made the first sacrifice and had the Arabs eat them against their custom" (see also the entry on the "Monk of Beth Ḥale" in this chapter). Translations give "until his death/murder," but there is an obvious connection between his *sphagēs* and his eating camel; there is a variant *phagēs*, though this means "food" rather than "meal." Professor Cyril Mango has suggested to me that one might understand *achri* in the sense "as long as" and suppose that a verb is missing: "They remained with him as long as [they approved of] his diet."

[184]This is an infringement of Deuteronomy xiv.7; the eating of camel meat by Arabs is commented upon by a number of pre-Islamic Greek and Syriac writers (some examples given in Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," 103–105), and it was a point on which rabbis questioned Muḥammad (Ibn Hishām, 375).

[185]Theophanes, 333 (tr. Mango, AM 6122—except translating "murder" not "sacrifice"); this passage is discussed by Schwabe, "'Aseret ḥavērāv ha-yehūdīm," 74–76.

[186]Described by Mann, "A Polemical Work against Karaite and other Sectaries," 126–31, and more fully in his "An Early Theologico-Polemical Work" on the basis of newly discovered leaves of the manuscript. Marmorstein, "Einleitung zu David ben Merwans Religionsphilosophie," 52–53, wrongly identified the text as a writing of David ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ.

[187]Schwabe, "'Aseret ḥavērāv ha-yehūdīm," 77–83, compares the two versions and concludes that the divergences, though minor, are sufficient to indicate that

The author of the treatise is polemicising against "our brethren, our rebels, defiers and despisers, who strike at the inheritance which our God gave us," and amid his denunciations he mourns that these had not acted like the ten elders in the following account:[188]

> This is the book of the story of Muḥammad who dwelt in the sheep-pasturing place,[189] which is called the New Mountain, and how he fared until he went up to Ṣan'a and to the Ḥijaz by reason of the monk who was in *Balqīn* on a pillar that is called "the sign of the sun." And [it also tells of how] those rabbis, who had joined him, came and reminded him of his affair and fabricated (*handaza*) for him a book. They inserted at the beginning of a chapter from his Qur'an their names and they inserted the words: "Thus did the wise men of Israel advise the wicked *Alm*,"[190] [making it] hidden and distorted so that it would not be understood. And cursed would be he, as these rabbis said, who explained that to one of the nations of the world, and the monk called Baḥira should not be mentioned.[191] Now these are the rabbis who came to him: Abraham named Ka'b al-Aḥbār; Absalom named 'Abd al-Salām....These are the ten who came to him and converted to Islam (*aslamū*) at his hands so that he

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the Hebrew derives from a common source rather than from the Judaeo-Arabic text directly.

[188] *Ten Wise Jews* (Judaeo-Arabic), 402; discussion by Baneth, "Teshūvōt ve-he'arōt." I translate from the Judaeo-Arabic, as it is clearer.

[189] The text has *mawḍa' swr'ā al-gūsī*. The Hebrew version simply speaks of "a shepherd [who dwelt] in a place known as the New Mountain;" for this and other reasons Baneth, "Teshūvōt ve-he'arōt," 113, proposes reading *mawḍa' mar'ā al-ghanam*, and I have followed this in the above translation. Leveen, "Mohammed and his Jewish Companions," 401, connects *gūsī* with the place *Gūsīt*, near Ḥimṣ, where a certain Sergius the Stylite is said to have lived (Hayman, *Disputation of Sergius against a Jew*, 4*–6*); Leveen then conjectures that this Sergius is to be identified with the Baḥira in our text.

[190] This sentence is in Hebrew; *Alm* is used to mean a false prophet and is a reference to the "dumb (*illemīm*) dogs" of Isaiah lvi.10 (see Leveen, "Mohammed and his Jewish Companions," 401).

[191] This phrase is in Hebrew and is probably a form of curse (Baneth, "Teshūvōt ve-he'arōt," 112–13).

> might not harm Israel at all. They made for him a Qur'an and each one of them inserted their names in a chapter, without incurring suspicion. And they wrote in the middle chapter: "Thus did the wise men of Israel advise the wicked *Alm*."

The verses of the Qur'an which make up this last sentence by their initial letters are then cited, though they would seem to be invented.

It is quite possible that the Greek and Judaeo-Arabic/Hebrew texts draw upon a common source,[192] but each has considerably abbreviated it, for many of the allusions in each require explanation in order to be understood. It is not, for example, made explicit that the sentence: "Thus did the wise men of Israel advise the wicked *Alm*," is meant as a play upon the so-called mystical letters of the Qur'an. "Thus did advise" (*kakhah ya'aṣū*) intends the letters *khy's*, which stand at the beginning of Chapter xix;[193] "the wise men" (*ḥakhemē*) gives *ḥm* of xli–xlvi; "of Israel" (*yisrā'ēl*) yields *ys* of xxxvi; and *Alm*, a reference to Isaiah lvi.10, opens ii–iii, vii, xiii, xxx–xxxii.[194] Each text has also adapted the common source for its own purposes. The reason why the ten Jews follow Muḥammad, for instance, is given an anti-Jewish twist by Theophanes, who has them mistake Muḥammad for the Messiah, and an anti-Christian slant by the Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew accounts, which have them join him in order to protect Israel from the malicious counsel of the monk Baḥira. Since the legend is in Theophanes, it must have arisen earlier than the ninth century, and most probably in the second half of the eighth century when the biography of Muḥammad had already become largely standardised.[195]

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[192]Argued by Schwabe, "'Aseret ḥavērāv ha-yehūdīm," 83–86.

[193]Chapter xix does indeed fall halfway through the Qur'an, as stated in the treatise ("the middle chapter"), for the initial few chapters of the Qur'an are much longer than the final ones. It is also, significantly, the chapter which narrates the birth of Jesus and affirms that he was not the son of God, but only a prophet.

[194]Schwabe, "'Aseret ḥavērāv ha-yehūdīm," 81; Baneth, "Teshūvōt ve-he'arōt," 114. The letter groups *khy's* and *alm* also have significance in Baḥira (Arabic), 100/165, which made Schwabe, "'Aseret ḥaveyrav ha-yehūdīm," 86–87, and Baneth, "Teshūvōt ve-he'arōt," 114, think that this text was related to the texts of the ten wise Jews legend.

[195]For the legend's later development see Shtober, "Muḥammad and the Beginning of Islam," esp. 347–52. Another, or a related, polemical tale is hinted at by Simon

Targum Ps.-Jonathan

Ps.-Jonathan's Aramaic translation (*targum*) of the Pentateuch has long attracted the attention of scholars, most notably for its abundance of haggadic material and distinctive language.[196] But it has recently been the subject of much debate as to whether it may be considered a document of anti-Muslim polemic. Ohana maintains that it can by recourse to ps.-Jonathan on Genesis xxi.9–21, which often portrays Ishmael, the progenitor of the Arabs, in an unfavourable light:[197]

> Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she bore to Abraham, sporting *with an idol and bowing down to it*. And she said to Abraham: "Cast out this maidservant and her son, for *it is not possible that* the son of this maidservant should inherit with my son *and [then] make war* with Isaac." But the matter was very distressing in Abraham's eyes on account of his son *Ishmael, who had practised idolatry*. But the *Lord* said to Abraham: "Do not be distressed about the boy *who has abandoned the training you have given him*, or about your maidservant whom you are *banishing*. *Pay heed to* all that Sarah will say to you—*for she is a prophetess*—because through Isaac shall your children be named; *but this son of the maidservant shall not be recorded [in the genealogies] after you*. And I will make a nation *of robbers* of the son of the maidservant also, because he is your *son*." Abraham rose early in the morning, took some bread and a skin of water and gave [them] to Hagar. He placed [them] on her shoulder—*tying [them] to her loins to show that she was*

ben Yoḥai, *Midrash of the Ten Kings*, 465: "At the beginning of his dominion, when he goes forth, he will seek to do harm to Israel, but great men of Israel will join with him and give him a wife from among them, and there will be peace between him and Israel." Cf. Thomas Artsruni, 2.IV (tr. Thomson, 167): "They (the Jews of Medina) joined him and made a pact, gave him a wife from their nation, and made ready to support him in whatever way his wishes might dictate;" Michael the Syrian (Armenian tr.), 223, also mentions that the Jews gave Muḥammad a wife.

[196]An excellent introduction to this work with extensive bibliography is provided by Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, 1–14.

[197]Ohana, "La polémique judéo-islamique et l'image d'Ismaël."

> *a maidservant*—along with the child. He sent her away *with a bill of divorce.* She went off and strayed *from the way,* to the desert *which is near* Beersheba. *When they arrived at the entrance to the desert, they reverted to going astray after idolatry. Ishmael was stricken with a burning fever....*And the angel of *the Lord* called to Hagar from heaven and said to her: "What is the matter, Hagar? Fear not, for the voice of the child *has been* heard *before the Lord and He has not judged him according to the evil deeds he is destined to do. Because of the merit of Abraham he has shown mercy to him in the place* where he is. Arise, take the boy and hold him by the hand, for I will make a great nation of him." *The Lord* uncovered her eyes, and a well of water *was revealed to her*, and she went and filled the water-skin with water and gave the boy a drink. *The Memra of the Lord was at the assistance of* the boy and he grew up. He dwelt in the wilderness and became a *skilled* bowman. He dwelt in the desert of Pharan *and took as wife Adisha. But he divorced her* and his mother took *Fatima* as wife for him from the land of Egypt.[198]

In the last verse there is an obvious reference to two of Muḥammad's wives, ʿĀ'isha and Fāṭima. But should we regard this as the gloss of a later copyist to what is essentially an intertestamental text, or should we take it to indicate that this *targum* is a post-Islamic compilation, drawing on earlier materials and engaged in a rebuttal of Islam's pretensions? Proponents of the latter view draw attention to its distinctive literary character and its seeming dependence upon late midrashic collections such as the *Chapters* of Rabbi Eliezer.[199] Neither of these points, however, is so conclusive that those who hold the former posi-

[198]Ps.-Jonathan, *Targum*, Genesis xxi.9–21 (tr. Maher, 75–76); italics indicate deviations from the Hebrew text, whether by interpretation or paraphrase. Hayward, "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic," argues that the portrait of Ishmael as idolater and brigand is entirely consonant with descriptions of pre-Islamic Arabs known in Israel.

[199]Shinan, "The 'Palestinian' Targums: Repetitions, Internal Unity, Contradictions;" *idem*, "Dating Targum Pseudo-Jonathan;" Ohana, "La polémique judéo-islamique et l'image d'Ismaël" (Ohana makes the point that whereas the *Chapters*

tion cannot explain them away.[200] More could probably be said if all the hostile statements about Ishmael were collected and analysed,[201] but it is unlikely that a definitive answer could be given.

Persian Texts

Though not so much in evidence as their monotheist adversaries, Zoroastrians did also join in the interconfessional debates of early Abbasid times. Theodore Abū Qurra (d. *ca.* 820s) includes them in his review of the nine principal creeds of his time, attacking them for their approval of incestuous marriages and for the belief that their god had created them for the enjoyment of earthly pleasures.[202] In the presence of the caliph Ma'mūn (813–33) a religious disputation was held between a Zoroastrian convert to Islam, now known only as Abālish,[203] and the Zoroastrian leader Adurfarnbag i Farrokhzadan. The latter was victorious, and indeed is known to us as something of a polemicist from the third book of his religious encyclopaedia, the *Dēnkard*. About 50 chapters of this book have an overtly apologetic format, first setting out the position of the Good Religion on a particular issue (*az nigēz ī wehdēn*), then refuting the practitioners of the bad religions (*akdēn*), "the doctors (*kēshdārān*) whose doctrine is that...." The confession of these "doctors" is not usually specified, but we can recognise Muslims among them from the explicitly Islamic character of certain of the false notions singled out for reproof.[204]

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has good and bad comments about Ishmael, ps.-Jonathan has only used the pejorative remarks).

[200]As is done by Hayward, "The Date of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan;" *idem*, "Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan;" *idem*, "Inconsistencies and Contradictions in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan."

[201]Other examples are the dispute between Isaac and Ishmael in ps.-Jonathan, *Targum*, Genesis xxii.1, and Abraham's refusal to bless Ishmael in *ibid.*, Genesis xxv.11.

[202]Theodore Abū Qurra, *Fī wujūd al-khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*, 201–202. Note that he dwells mostly on the Zurvanite creation myth.

[203]For information about this character and the text of the dispute see *EIr*, *s.v.* "Abāliš."

[204]*Dēnkard*, 3.XXXV (against the idea that the "seal of the prophets" had come, "the one whom they hold as a prophet"), XLIX (against the idea of eternal hell), CCXLI (against the idea that God made the angels pay homage to man), CCXCIII–

Dependent upon this work, but probably not much later since it reveals no influence of New Persian, is the "Doubt-Dispelling Exposition" (*Shkand-gumānīg wizār*) of Mardanfarrokh i Ohrmazddadan. This follows the layout favoured by theologians of the day: a theoretical section, which proceeds in question-and-answer form to establish the truth of dualism, followed by a polemical section, which criticises the religions of Islam, Judaism, Christianity and Manichaeism. The approach is abstract and intellectual, leaving aside the mythical and traditional elements of Zoroastrianism. In the confrontation with Islam debate centres around the problem of man's free will and the attribution of evil to God, an area in which a dualist has a far more easily defensible position than a monist. Citation from authoritative texts is frequent in each of the discussions, from the Qur'an and the Bible as well as from Zoroastrian books. This work has been called the "last great treatise of the later period of Mazdaism,"[205] and certainly it is true that thereafter, Zoroastrians, now a dwindling minority, concentrated chiefly on the preservation of old writings rather than the composition of new ones.

Latin Texts[206]

Istoria de Mahomet

In a letter to Paul Albar,[207] John of Seville, a professor of rhetoric, appended a "note about the heretic Muḥammad (*Mammet*)," which reads as follows:

IV (against the idea that God created evil). Adurfarnbag is cited as the original author of the *Dēnkard* at the end of Book 3, but the work became dispersed and had to be reconstituted by Adurbad i Emedan at the end of the ninth century (see the entry on this text in Chapter 8 above).

[205]De Menasce, "Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest," 560 (*ibid.*, 553–65, discusses this text and Book 3 of the *Dēnkard*). *Idem*, *Škand-gumānīk vičār*, introduces, edits and translates this text; there is also an English translation by West, *Pahlavi Texts*, 3.117–251. Note that it survives only in Pazand (Middle Persian transcribed out of Pahlavi into Avestan script) and in a late Sanskrit version.

[206]Dispute texts in Latin against Islam are surveyed by Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1975), 173–76; Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, 33–94.

[207]For Paul's life and works see Cabaniss, "Paulus Albarus of Muslim Cordova," and Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 148–66, 305–32.

> A note on Muḥammad, chief of the Arabs: In the time of Heraclius, in his seventh year and in the current era 656 (618), there arose the heretic Muḥammad, seal (*sigillus*) of the false prophets of the Arabs, forerunner of the Antichrist. At that time Isidore of Seville excelled in our doctrine and Sisebut held the throne in Toledo.
>
> His followers say that this aforementioned wicked prophet shone out by his many miracles, such as that he took the wife of another by reason of the ardour of his lust and joined her to himself in marriage; and that, as we have read no [other] prophet to have done, he held mastery over a camel, controlling its will.[208] When death was approaching, he promised to rise up on the third day, but by the negligence of the guards he was discovered [to have been] devoured by dogs. He held the leadership for ten years, at the end of which he was buried in hell.[209]

A much longer version is given by Eulogius of Córdoba and was used by him in his defence of the martyrs of that city who had been blaspheming Islam. He had discovered it in the library of the monastery at Leyre in Pamplona while traversing northern Spain in 849–50. It begins with a sketch of the Prophet's career: that he was an orphan, travelled on business whence he became familiar with Christian teachings, married a widow and received a visitation from the angel Gabriel announcing to him his prophethood:

> He began to preach to the irrational animals and he made headway as if on the basis of reason so that they retreated from the cult of idols and adored the corporeal God in heaven. He ordered his believers to take up arms on his

[208]It is narrated in the Islamic tradition how Muḥammad was able to subdue a wild camel; e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* 1.1, 124, and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3.158–59, 310.

[209]*Adnotatio de Mammet*, 146. John simply says "we direct to you this note of Mammet" with no indication as to how he had come by it; he may have sent it for Paul to compare with the version in the possession of his friend Eulogius (see Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 156–57).

> behalf and, as if with a new zeal of faith, he ordered them to cut down their adversaries with the sword. God, with his inscrutable judgement..., permitted them to inflict injury. First they killed the brother of the emperor who held dominion over the land, and in recognition of the triumph of victory they established the Syrian city of Damascus as the capital of the kingdom.[210]

Then follows a lampoon of the Qur'an, mocking the chapter titles involving animals and twisting the words of the verse on the divorce of Zayd and Zaynab (Qur'an xxxiii.37). The final section recounts Muḥammad's failed attempt at resurrection, as told in John of Seville's note, adding that an annual slaughter of dogs was instituted to avenge him. This is pure invention, presumably meant to compare Muḥammad unfavourably with Christ, and a similar fiction is found in the Baḥira legend.[211] "It was appropriate that a prophet of this kind fill the stomachs of dogs," concludes the author, "a prophet who committed not only his own soul, but those of many, to hell." The contents of the biographical sketch and Qur'anic allusions are mostly found in the Greek writings of Theophanes and John of Damascus, and it was very likely from Byzantine sources that the *Istoria* was composed.[212]

A reading of the two recensions makes clear that they both derive from the same original text. John of Seville has drastically abbreviated this, but he still offers ingredients—such as the miracles and camel of Muḥammad—which are not brought by Eulogius, who may also, therefore, be making selective use of the original. In the form we have it, the text is clearly of Spanish provenance, as is shown by the notices on Spanish affairs at the beginning and the dating of Muḥammad's appearance to the seventh year of Heraclius's reign, which is only found in the Hispanic chronicles of 741 and 754, where it is equated to 656

[210] *Istoria de Mahomet*, 157–58 (tr. Wolf, 98); this text is discussed by Franke, *Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Córdoba*, 38–47, and more briefly by Daniel, *Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 39–45, and Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 334–38 (includes translation).

[211] Baḥira (Syriac), 213/215: the Jewish scribe Ka'b predicts that Muḥammad will arise after three days, but instead the corpse putrifies.

[212] See the entry on "Theophanes" in Chapter 10 above and that on "John of Damascus" in this chapter.

of the Spanish era.[213] It is possible that we have here an adaptation of a late Umayyad Greek tract, and hence the mention of Damascus as the Arab capital. But the Spanish author himself is unlikely to have written before the beginning of the ninth century, since we hear of no antipathy towards Islam earlier than that time.[214]

Tultusceptru de libro domni Metobii

This rather curious text relates that a certain bishop Osius saw an angel of the Lord who instructed him to "go and speak to my satraps who dwell in Erribon," since "they have strayed from my pact." Osius, instead, sent one of his monks, a youth named Ozim, who set off as commanded, but on the way encountered an evil angel. The latter, posing as the same angel as spoke to the bishop, tells Ozim to take the name "Mohomad" and to teach the satraps dwelling in Erribon the words *alla occuber alla occuber situ leila cita est Mohamet razulille* which, unbeknown to the monk, "serves to conjure up demons." "And so what was to be a vessel of Christ became a vessel of Mammon to the perdition of his soul; and all those who converted to the error and all those who, through his persuasion, shall be, are numbered among the company of hell."

This tract attacks Islam's claim to have a new and direct revelation from God by postulating that this same revelation was perverted by an *angelus malignus* and had been intended as a Christian message anyway. A certain degree of familiarity with Islam is evident. The Muslim profession of faith is recognisably reported in the Latin,[215] the monk's name of Ozim is presumably meant to represent the epithet of

[213] *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, §12; *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §7 (= Pereira/Wolf, §8). Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 335–36, suggests that the chronicler of 754, writing in AH 136/792 of the Spanish era, had simply subtracted 136 to get to the beginning of Islam, giving 656 of the Spanish era/618 (actually the eighth year of Heraclius).

[214] For discussion of the date and origin of the work see Ceinos' appendix in Diaz y Diaz, "Textos antimahometanos," 165–68.

[215] In the Latin words of the evil angel "God is most great" (*Allāhu akbar*), "I witness that there is no god" (*ashhadu anna lā ilāha*) and "Muḥammad is the messenger of God" (*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*) are all discernable, but it is unclear what is meant by *cita est*.

ʿaẓīm ("great") and Erribon to signal Yathrib. The lettering of the extant text indicates that it was written in the mid-eleventh century, but its career before that date is unknown.[216]

Dubia

John the Stylite

The manuscript Paris syr. 203, written in a Maronite monastery at Qannubin in Lebanon in 1470, mostly contains Maronite writings, particularly those of John Maron.[217] Amongst them is found "a short extract of the discussion of Mar John the Stylite of the convent of the holy Mar Z'uro at Serug," which he had with an anonymous antagonist on the subjects of Christology and God's foreknowledge. Suermann has identified this author with John the Stylite of Litarb (d. 738)—though without giving any justification for this identification—and the antagonist as a Muslim, since he refers to John as a Christian and mentions the Jews in the third person.[218] Baumstark pointed out that the transmission of this piece via a Maronite manuscript means that we should expect a Maronite author.[219] This may not be absolutely so, but Suermann should at least have considered why the Jacobite John might have featured in a Maronite manuscript and why he does not bear his usual designation of "Stylite of Litarb." Moreover, if by John of Litarb, this dialogue would be the earliest witness to a number of doctrinal points of contention between Christians and Muslims. Again, this is not impossible, but it should not be proposed without due consideration. More damning is the fact that this same "John the Stylite of the convent of the holy Mar Z'uro at Serug" appears as the author of a short grammatical treatise, which seems dependent upon the work

[216]Diaz y Diaz, "Textos antimahometanos," 160–61; Wolf, "Earliest Latin Lives of Muḥammad," 94–96.

[217]The manuscript is described by Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, 154–55, and Breydy, *Literatur des Maroniten*, 114–16.

[218]Suermann, "Une controverse de Jôhannàn de Lītārb." He also fails to signal Nau's earlier translation of this same dialogue ("Opuscules maronites," 332–35). For information about John of Litarb see Peña, Castellana and Fernandez, *Les stylites syriens*, 126–32.

[219]Baumstark, *GSL*, 342.

of Joseph Ḥazzaya, who died in the late eighth century.[220] We might, then, place this John of Mar Z'uro in the first half of the ninth century, when both his grammatical and apologetic writing would seem best at home.[221]

Abjuration

Attributed to the Byzantine historian and civil servant Nicetas Choniates (d. *ca.* 1215) is a short Greek writing entitled: "Procedure (*taxis*) to be followed for those of the Saracens who return to the pure and true faith of us Christians." It comprises two parts: the separation (*apotaxis*) from Islam, consisting of some twenty anathemas of key tenets of Muslim belief, and the alignment (*syntaxis*) with Christianity, which includes penance and a profession of the orthodox faith. All scholars agree that the text is earlier than Nicetas' time,[222] but how early is disputed. The appearance of icon worship in the profession of faith suggests a time at least after the temporary reinstatement of that practice in 787, and more likely after its final reinstatement in 843.[223] Cumont has argued for an ascription to the late seventh century, though not on very good grounds. The first anathema is of a number of early Islamic figures and the lack of a caliphal name later than Yazīd prompts Cumont, who thinks that Yazīd I (680–83) is meant, to believe that this is "because the final redaction was fixed in his time."[224] But there were three Yazīds who became caliph, and in any case the list would seem to

[220]Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Notre Dame des Semences," 74 (Codex 139); Moberg, "Die syrische Grammatik des Johannes Eṣṭōnāyā," esp. 30–31 (he discusses the *floruit* of this John and decides against identification with John of Litarb). On Joseph Ḥazzaya see the entry on "Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra" in Chapter 5 above.

[221]Assemani, *BO* 3.1, 256, assigns him to *ca.* 830.

[222]Note that the emperor Manuel I (1143–80) blamed "former emperors and members of the hierarchy" for not censuring the last anathema, against "the God of Muḥammad" (cited by Sahas, "Ritual of Conversion from Islam," 58).

[223]Thus Montet, "Un rituel d'abjuration des musulmans," 147, favouring the patriarchate of Photius (858–67, 877–86); followed by Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 152 n. 6.

[224]Cumont, "L'origine de la formule grecque d'abjuration," 144.

be of Muḥammad's companions, not of caliphs, and Yazīd I was not a companion of the Prophet.[225] Cumont then highlights the similarities between the anathema of the Muslim view of Jesus and a passage of John of Damascus' *De haeresibus* on the same subject, concluding from this that they draw upon a common source.[226] The resemblances are also to be found in other of the anathemas and can equally well be explained by assuming that the author of the abjuration is paraphrasing John's writing on Islam, at times abbreviating, as here, and at times elaborating with material from other sources. The chief obstacle, however, to Cumont's proposal is that the abjuration presupposes not only a fully-fledged Islam[227] but also a comprehensive polemical response to it, and any time before the late eighth century is, therefore, excluded.

Before giving an answer on the date of the abjuration, however, one should first consider whether this text is an abstract document composed for polemical purposes alone, or whether it was intended for use and so has a real historical background. The former option is possible, especially since abjurations of Judaism and Manichaeism are found alongside that of Islam in the manuscripts.[228] If we prefer to think that these texts were for use, then the obvious context would be a Byzantine recapture of territories once Christian whose inhabitants had mostly converted to Islam in the meantime.[229] Such a comeback did occur in the mid-ninth century and particularly in the late tenth century under John Tzimisces.

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[225]Named are ʿAlī, his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, Abū Bakr (seemingly twice), ʿUmar, Ṭalḥa, Muʿāwiya, Zubayr, ʿAbd Allāh, Zayd, Yazīd and ʿUthmān.

[226]*Ibid.*, 144–46, referring to *Formula of Abjuration*, anathema no. 11 (= *PG* 140, 129C; = Montet, 152–53), and John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* C/CI, 61 (= *PG* 94, 765A–B).

[227]All the doctrines anathematised are classical, and very often Qur'anic, except for no. 8: "I anathematise the secret teaching of the Saracens and promise of *Mōamed* which says that he will become the keyholder (*kleidouchos*) of paradise" (see Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 4 and 152 n. 6). Montet had thought that the characterisation of the sun and moon as *kaballarious* in anathema no. 7 was unorthodox, but Clermont-Ganneau, "Ancien rituel grec," 255, points out that it is a reference to *al-dā'ibīn* of Qur'an xiv.37.

[228]See Cumont, "Une formule grecque de renonciation au Judaisme."

[229]The procedure for the "return to the pure and true faith" involves catechisation of the apostate, suggesting that some were children of apostates, or even grandchildren, and so knowing little of Christianity.

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In a bibliography of Christian–Muslim dialogue this manuscript is stated to contain a disputation in Syriac involving a Muslim named Bāhilī and a certain Christian monk.[230] This text is actually written in Garshuni, Arabic in Syriac characters, and so is unlikely to antedate the tenth century.

[230]Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo–chrétien" (1984), 290; see Mingana, *Catalogue*, 1.408 (no. 184).

PART III

WRITING THE HISTORY OF EARLY ISLAM

CHAPTER 12

NON-MUSLIM CONCEPTIONS OF ISLAM[1]

BEFORE ATTEMPTING to use the testimony of non-Muslims for the writing of Islamic history, it is worth first considering the theoretical structures that underpin their observations on the rise of Islam, the "fictional matrices"[2] that give their writings coherence and meaning. In other words, we should try to comprehend the conceptual framework which allowed these authors to make sense of and then recast the situation they faced, namely that a new religio-political entity had unexpectedly arisen, achieved dazzling military successes and promoted itself as favoured by God and in possession of His latest dispensation. In particular, it must be borne in mind that, in their provision of a response to this situation, only very rarely did the conquered peoples evince an interest in the motives and actions of the Muslims themselves.

[1]Discussion of the earliest responses of Christians to Islam has been given by Cahen, "L'acceuil des chrétiens d'Orient à l'Islam;" Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions;" Ducellier, *Le miroir de l'Islam*, esp. 23–36, 59–185; Constantelos, "The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as Revealed in the Greek Sources;" Moorhead, "The Earliest Christian Theological Response to Islam;" Brock, "Syriac Views;" Suermann, "Orientalische Christen und der Islam;" Gero, "Early Contacts between Byzantium and the Arab Empire;" *idem*, "Only a Change of Masters;" Fiey, "The Attitude of the Local Populations towards the Muslim Conquerors." For some comments on the Jewish response see Leder, "The Attitude of the Jews and their Role;" there seems to be no study of the Zoroastrian reaction. See also Yahya, "Istiqbāl bilād al-shām li-l-fatḥ al-'arabī," who emphasises the cultural ties existing between the Ḥijaz and adjacent Byzantine lands before Islam.

[2]The expression is that of White, "Fictions of Factual Representation," 30.

Their chief concern was rather to minimise the damage done to their own former status and self-image, to play down the gains won by their new masters and to extend some hope that they would themselves rise to the fore once more.[3]

The Tool of God's Wrath

"We should not think of their advent (of the sons of Hagar) as something ordinary," advised John bar Penkaye, writing in Mesopotamia in the 680s, "but as due to divine working:"

> When these people came, at God's command, and took over as it were both kingdoms..., God put victory into their hands in such a way that the words written concerning them might be fulfilled, namely: "One man chased a thousand and two men routed ten thousand" (Deuteronomy xxxii.30). How otherwise could naked men riding without armour or shield have been able to win, apart from divine aid, God having called them from the ends of the earth so as to destroy by them "a sinful kingdom" (Amos ix.8) and to bring low through them the proud spirit of the Persians.[4]

John's view was shared by numerous other Christian authors of the seventh century, who agreed that "the victory of the sons of Ishmael who subdued and enslaved these two strong empires was from God" (Chronicler of Khuzistan), that the Arabs were "the sword of God" (Fredegar), and that they had been summoned by Him "to be a chastisement in which there will be no mercy" (ps.-Methodius).

But if there was some consensus on the fact of divine intervention in the Muslim conquest, there was much variety of opinion about what exactly had provoked it, religious and political allegiances tending to colour each party's perceptions. Since the whole empire had been affected rather than a certain individual, group or place, one of two cases had to apply. Either the collective punishment was the result of collective sin, or else the emperor himself had sinned and brought down retribution on the realm he personified. Adherents of the latter explanation

[3]In what follows, references that have been given before will not be repeated; see then the relevant entry for the author in Part II above.

[4]John bar Penkaye, 141–42 (tr. Brock, 57–58).

pointed to the imperial espousal of Dyophysitism (ps.-Athanasius) and persecution of Monophysites (John of Nikiu, ps.-Ephraem, Dionysius of Tellmaḥre),[5] to Heraclius' marriage to his niece Martina (Fredegar, Nicephorus)[6] and promotion of Monotheletism,[7] and to Constans' exile of Pope Martin (Anastasius of Sinai).[8] Those who favoured the idea of collective responsibility either pointed to the gains made among the population by heresies such as Dyotheletism (George of Resh'aina) and Theopaschism (Bar Penkaye), or else simply championed the traditional failings of un-Christian behaviour and pervasive moral laxity.[9] As time went on, however, and the Arabs still remained, more specific causes were sought, and there were some who argued that the only sin meriting such a punishment as the loss of the provinces was the violation of the first commandment itself, the prohibition of idolatry, in which Christians were indulging when they prostrated to icons.[10]

This first attempt to make sense of the Arabs' emergence harks back to the Book of Judges, where "the chosen people," whenever they "did evil in the sight of the Lord," would be "delivered into the hand" of some gentile people until such time as they repented. The parallel was

[5]Dionysius' views are preserved by Michael the Syrian 11.III, 410/412–13, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.237.

[6]Fredegar, 154 (tr. Hadrill, 55); Nicephorus, §20 (tr. Mango, 69): "He (Heraclius) became incensed at his brother Theodore, for it was rumoured in some quarters that the latter was railing at the emperor on account of Martina and saying that 'his sin is continually before him.'"

[7]This is hinted at in one of the accusations levelled at Maximus the Confessor during his trial, namely that he advised Peter of Numidia not to send troops to Egypt to fight the Arabs "since God does not favour assisting the Roman state during the reign of Heraclius and his family" (*Relatio motionis* §1, *PG* 90, 112A–B).

[8]Disillusionment with certain emperors manifested itself in physical as well as literary opposition; the emperors of early Islamic times responded with a variety of measures (persecution of non-orthodox groups, convening of church councils, legislation, military campaigns) to reaffirm their authority (see Haldon, "Constantine or Justinian?").

[9]For examples see the entries "Prelude," "John Moschus," "Sophronius" and "Maximus the Confessor" in Chapter 3 and on "Jacob of Edessa" in Chapter 4 above; a particularly lurid catalogue of malpractices is drawn up by ps.-Methodius, *Apocalypse*, XI.6–8. Isho'yahb III, *Ep.* 39B, 66, speaks of the "barbarian rulers whom our sins have raised up."

[10]Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis," esp. 23–25; Whittow, *Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, 139–64.

close, and for a Biblically rooted people it was an eminently plausible explanation of their plight. As such it had been called upon often before, most recently to explain the Persian occupation.[11] But it was also a useful theory for church leaders to promote. In the first place, it forestalled any idea that the success of the Arabs' campaigns might be due to their merit or to divine approval, and it voided the need for an inquiry into whether they had any reasons for their venture. Just as it was said to the Israelites: "Not for your righteousness... do you go to possess the land, but for the wickedness of these nations" (Deuteronomy ix.5), "similarly with these sons of Ishmael, it was not because God loved them that he allowed them to enter the kingdom of the Christians, but because of the wickedness and sin which is perpetrated by the Christians."[12] Secondly, this construction of events was a spur to the faithful to mend their ways, for, as the patriarch Sophronius observed, "if we were to live as is dear and pleasing to God, we would rejoice over the fall of the Saracen enemy and observe their near ruin and witness their final demise."

Deliverance from the Wicked Kingdom[13]

If among the Christians the Persian and Arab victories provoked doubts about the durability of their empire and its favoured status with God, for the Jews it inspired hopes that their unhappy period of clientage might soon be at an end. And their excitement is understandable, for historical reality indeed seemed to conform very closely to eschatological expectations in the early seventh century. The Persian–Byzantine clash was on the scale of the predicted war of Gog and Magog, and it concluded with Roman dominance "over the whole world" for a short time, which, it was said in the Talmud, was required before the Messiah son of David would come.[14] When the emperor Heraclius decreed

[11]Compare Heraclius' alleged address to the Persian soldiers: "It is not because of your piety that He (God) has given you victory, but because of our iniquity. It is our sins, not your valour, that have made you successful" (Sebeos, XXVI [tr. Macler, 78]).

[12]Ps.-Methodius, *Apocalypse*, XI.5. Cited also by the monk of Beth Ḥale (*Disputation*, fol. 8a) in reply to the Arab's question: "What is the reason that God has delivered you into our hands?"

[13]This entry draws upon my "Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam," 90–92.

[14]*Talmud*, Yoma 10a.

compulsory baptism of Jews, it was patent that the final showdown between the enemies of God's kingdom and the nation of Israel was at hand.[15] So whereas Christians regarded the invading Arabs as God's rod for their chastisement, many Jews saw them rather as God's instrument for their deliverance. The possibly contemporary poet Yoḥannan ha-Kohen called upon God to unleash the rod of his anger (Isaiah x.5), namely "the kingdom of the wild man" (*malkhūt pere*), who is Ishmael (Genesis xvi.12), and to let him destroy the "sinful kingdom," which is Edom (the Romans/Byzantines).[16] And these sentiments are captured in a contemporary apocalypse which was attributed to the second-century rabbi Simon ben Yoḥai:

> Since he (Simon) saw the kingdom of Ishmael that was coming, he began to say: "Was it not enough what the wicked kingdom of Edom has done to us, but [we deserve] the kingdom of Ishmael too?" At once Metatron, the foremost angel, answered him and said: "Do not fear, son of man, for the Almighty only brings the kingdom of Ishmael in order to deliver you from this wicked one (Edom). He raises up over them (Ishmaelites) a prophet according to His will and He will conquer the land for them, and they will come and restore it to greatness, and a great dread will come between them and the sons of Esau."

Such a positive attitude towards the Arabs also receives some confirmation from the comment in the *Doctrina Jacobi*, a Greek anti-Jewish

[15]The poet Eliezer ben Qilir is possibly alluding to this when he says: "And destruction/conversion (*shemad*) will be decreed upon them (the people of Israel), for He will ordain the one named Armilus (the last anti-Jewish king; see *JE*, *s.v.* "Armilus," and Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism," 155–62), and He will appoint him to exterminate and annihilate. And he will set up an idol in his name and whoever does not prostrate [before it] will be destroyed" (*Apocalyptic Poem*, 415). Cf. Simon ben Yoḥai, *Midrash of the Ten Kings*, 465: "He (Rabbi Simon) was hidden for thirteen years in a cave from the emperor, the king of Edom, who had decreed destruction/conversion (*shemad*) on Israel."

[16]Yoḥannan ha-Kohen, *Pīyūṭīm* no. 7, ll. 233–36; interpreted by Yahalom, "Ḥillūfē malkhūyōt," 6. Weissenstern, *Pīyūṭē Yōḥannan ha-Kohen*, 313–20, argues that this poet lived through the Arab conquests; such writings are, however, notoriously difficult to date.

tract composed *ca.* 634, that the Jews rejoiced when they heard of the killing of a Byzantine officer by the Arabs.[17]

A number of Jews would even seem to have participated in the Arab armies. The *Doctrina Jacobi* has the newly baptised Jacob interrogate Justus, whom Jacob has just won over to Christianity, saying: "If your brother or the Jews who mix with the Saracens turn you from the faith, what will you do?" In response Justus avers that "even if the Jews and Saracens take hold of me and cut me into little pieces, I will not deny the Christ the son of God."[18] No more than one or two years later Maximus the Confessor was writing a letter to Peter, governor of Numidia, in which he briefly complained of the Arab predations and then ranted at length against "the Jewish people" for their part in "the evils which today afflict the world." In particular, he says, there can be nothing more terrible than "to see a cruel and alien nation authorised to raise its hand against the divine inheritance." His vituperative rhetoric is no doubt due to his prejudice against Jews, but his anger must have had some goad, and this was evidently that some Jews had shown their support for the new conquerors. This would seem to be confirmed by Sebeos, who speaks of "the rebellious Jews who had for a time received the assistance of the Hagarenes."[19] Such cooperation had happened before during the Persian occupation of Palestine (614–28), when "Hebrews and Saracens" had roamed the Judaean desert, terrifying the monks resident in the monasteries there.[20] Possibly these were the Jews of Noara and Livias, two "bases of aggression" (*ormētēria*) of theirs near Jericho.[21] It is also worth noting that later Jewish sources attest the presence of Jews among the invading Arabs:

> It was God's will to have us find favour before the Ishmaelite kingdom at the time of its conquest of the Holy Land from the hands of Edom. When they (the Arabs)

[17] *Doctrina Jacobi* V.16, 209. For some general comments see Gil, *History of Palestine*, 60–64; Leder, "The Attitude of the Population, especially the Jews, towards the Arab-Islamic Conquest."

[18] *Doctrina Jacobi* V.17, 212–13.

[19] Sebeos, XXXI (tr. Macler, 102).

[20] George of Khoziba, *Life* VIII (§34), 134.

[21] Antiochus, *Ep. ad Eustathium*, *PG* 89, 1692A; see the comments of Mayerson, "Antiochus Monachus' Homily on Dreams."

> came to Jerusalem, there were with them men from among the children of Israel who showed them the place of the Temple....[22]

Such accounts may be dependent upon the Muslim tradition, which relates the part played by the Jewish scribe Ka'b al-Aḥbār in the caliph 'Umar's establishment of a mosque on the Temple Mount,[23] but it is also possible that reports current among the Jews contributed to the Muslim tradition.

Of course, most Jews would not have risen up in support of the oncoming Arabs. In the city of Manuf in Egypt, for example, all the Jews gathered together and fled to Alexandria, "owing to their fear of the Muslims, the cruelties of (the general) 'Amr and the seizure of their possessions."[24] And we hear of Jews being killed and taken prisoner along with everyone else.[25] But as Byzantine intolerance towards the Jews increased in the early seventh century and the Persian–Byzantine conflict escalated into all-out war, ever more Jews took advantage of the disorder: "When at Ptolemais the Christians fled on account of the arrival of the Persians, the Jews took the chance to burn the churches of the Christians and to plunder their houses, and they molested and killed many Christians."[26] When the Persians marched on Jerusalem itself, thousands of Jews flocked to them in the hope of being allowed to restore the Temple. A poem written by Eliezer ben Qilir *ca.* 630 bears witness to these expectations and their subsequent frustration:

> The holy people will have a short respite, for Assur (the Persians) will permit them to found the holy shrine, and

[22]Mid-eleventh-century letter from the academy of Jerusalem to the diaspora communities in Egypt cited by Mann, *Jews under the Fatimids*, 1.44, 1.164–65 (date), 2.189–91 (full text). Cf. the entry on "Jewish Texts" in Chapter 10 above, and Gil, *History of Palestine*, 71, who is sceptical.

[23]On which see Busse, "'Omar in Jerusalem."

[24]John of Nikiu, "enumeration of chapters" (tr. Charles, 13).

[25]Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 148: Christian, Jewish and Samaritan villagers killed in Palestine; Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrat.*, B9 (= Nau, LI): a young Jew, slave of a Saracen, flees to Cyprus and becomes a Christian.

[26]*Doctrina Jacobi* IV.5, 180–81. Other examples of Jewish activism in this period are given by Starr, "Byzantine Jewry on the Eve of the Arab Conquest," 282–87; for the general situation see Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 42–60.

> they will build the altar and offer up the sacrifices. But they will not have time to establish the sanctuary....After three months the commander-in-chief will come against him (the Messiah son of Joseph) and will kill him in the little temple, and his blood will flow upon the rock. And the country will be in mourning.[27]

And this is echoed by a second more well-known apocalyptic work, the *Book of Zerubbabel*, which mentions all the above ingredients and portrays the Persian ruler Shiroi as an anti-Christ for his complicity in the slaying of the Messiah son of Joseph.[28]

One might argue that, as after the unsuccessful Bar Kochba uprising,[29] there would have been a period of passivity following the failure of the collusion with the Persians. But throughout the seventh and eighth centuries cataclysmic events plausibly heralding the end of days spawned messianic pretenders, and in each case they were able to attract a considerable following.[30] The Jews were, however, to be disappointed once their messianic fantasies went unfulfilled or even came into conflict with the Muslims' own program. The first confrontation appears to have occurred when a number of "the rebellious Jews" conceived the plan of "rebuilding the Temple of Solomon," but were frustrated in this by the Muslims, who wanted this site for their own place of prayer.[31] Somewhat later an anonymous poet tells of his joy when he perceived that the four kingdoms were at an end, for redemption was now at hand; but he also relates his subsequent disappointment, when it became evident that the new conqueror—"the wild man" (*pere ādām*),

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[27]Eliezer ben Qilir, *Apocalyptic Poem*, 414; Fleischer, "Le-fitarōn," 403–404, argues that "the commander-in-chief" (*sar hā-rōsh*) means the leader of the Persians.

[28]*Book of Zerubbabel*, 135/151. See further Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, 259–70; Baras, "Ha-kibūsh ha-Parsī," 323–33; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 202–207 (the Jews' involvement in the Persian conquest), 207–14 (*Book of Zerubbabel*). And there is possibly physical evidence: Dexinger and Seibt, "A Hebrew Lead Seal (614–29 AD)" (a seal engraved with the words "Josina, *archon*, son of Ep... Shalom").

[29]See Zeitlin, "The Essenes and Messianic Expectations," 108–12.

[30]For examples and references see the entry on "Apocalypticism" in Chapter 1 above.

[31]Sebeos, XXXI (tr. Macler, 102).

who "appeared with a spear and a helmet" (*ba-ḥanīt ū-ve-kōva'*)—was a new enemy of Israel, who enslaved and imposed taxes.[32] Similarly, in a mid-eighth-century redaction of the aforementioned apocalypse attributed to Simon ben Yoḥai, those who were portrayed as "a salvation for Israel" are now described as those "who were to arise and subject Israel." And henceforth the Muslims were assigned the former Byzantine role of oppressors of Israel.[33]

An Age of Adversity[34]

Zoroastrians gave an apocalyptic interpretation to the tumultuous events of the end of the Sasanian empire, which they took to mean that the millennium of Zoroaster was drawing to a close and that of Ushedar, in which the Good Religion would flourish, about to commence. This period, which marked the conclusion of Zoroaster's millennium, was to be an age of adversity, in which "a myriad kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath, would rush into the country of Iran from the direction of the East," when religion and people would suffer and when "sovereignty would come from those leather-belted ones (Turks) and Arabs and Romans" (*Bahman yasht*). The revolt of Bahram Chobin had prompted this speculation and the conquests of Khusrau II occasioned further elaboration, but it was the Arabs' victories that called forth greatest lament, for at their hands:

> The Religion was ruined and the King of Kings slain like a dog. They eat the bread. They have taken away the sovereignty from the emperors. Not by skill and valour, but in mockery and scorn have they taken it. By force they take from men wives and sweet possessions, parks and gardens. Taxes they have imposed, they have distributed them upon the heads. They have demanded again the principal,

[32]Cited by Fleischer, "Massōret yehūdīt qedūmā," 114; commented upon by Yahalom, "Ḥillūfē malkhūyōt," 8. It is found amid a collection of poems for the feast of Tish'at be-Av, most by Eliezer ben Qilir.

[33]See, for example, the poem edited by Yahalom, "Ḥillūfē malkhūyōt," 18–22.

[34]Apocalyptic statements seem to be almost the only literary witness we have from the Zoroastrians concerning their reaction to Arab rule. For a survey of such statements see the entry thereon in Chapter 8 above.

> a heavy impost. Consider how much evil those wicked ones have cast upon this world, than which ill there is none worse. The world passes from us.[35]

But sometime soon the warrior-king Wahram Warjawand would march from India with 1000 elephants to wreak vengeance on the Arabs: "Their mosques we will cast down, we will set up fires, their idol-temples we will eradicate and purify away from the world so that shall vanish the spawn of the wicked one from this world."[36]

The Fourth Beast

In contrast to the cyclical view of history found in the Book of Judges, a more linear conception is proposed by the prophet Daniel. He had had a vision of "four great beasts," the last possessing ten horns followed by a little horn, all cast down as the "Ancient of Days" arrived to inaugurate the Day of Judgement. This, Daniel was told, signified the succession of four world empires, the last concluding with ten kings, "and another shall rise after them... who shall think to change times and laws," after which "the Judgement shall sit" and "the kingdom and dominion... shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom" (Daniel vii). This prophecy became connected by many with S. Paul's reference (2 Thessalonians ii.7–8) to the "withholding power" (*ho katekhōn*), whose removal would lead to the advent of the Antichrist. The conclusion was then drawn that the Roman Christian empire was to be identified with the fourth beast/the "withholding power," whose rule would last as long as the world itself, only to be swept away by the little horn/Antichrist, who would himself soon be deposed by the "Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory (Matthew xxiv.30).[37]

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[35] *Pahlavi Ballad on the End of Times*, ll. 6–11 (tr. Bailey, 195–96).

[36] *Ibid.*, ll. 14–15 (tr. Bailey, 196).

[37] Though there were other interpretations. Cosmas Indicopleustes felt that with Christ's advent not only the old law but also the old kingdoms of Daniel vii had come to an end, and that the Roman empire should rather be seen in Daniel ii.44: "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed" (*Christian Topography*, 2.lxix–lxxv; see Casey, "The Fourth Kingdom in Cosmas Indicopleustes and the Syrian Tradition"). John bar Penkaye,

The Byzantine empire's steady losses in the West, and particularly their dramatic defeats in the East in the early seventh century, fuelled speculation that its demise was imminent. As one contemporary observed: "We see that the fourth beast, namely Rome, is brought low and ravaged by nations, and henceforth one must expect the ten horns," for "after the humbling of the fourth beast, that is, Rome, nothing else is expected, except the confusion of the nations, the ten horns and the coming of the blasphemous and deceiving devil."[38] It was thus easy, even obvious, initially to portray the Arabs as the Antichrist, "the little horn," "the abomination of desolation,"[39] that is, as eschatological characters in the drama of the world's end. But as time went on and Arab sovereignty over the Middle East persisted, another solution needed to be found that would account for this longevity.

The Mesopotamian John bar Penkaye considered the Arabs as just one of many gentile nations who were "striving to undo the Byzantine kingdom;" an army of prisoners-of-war, whose "victory is from God," would very likely "be the cause of the destruction of the Ishmaelites," and "that these people too will not last is clear."[40] A compatriot and contemporary of John, masquerading under the guise of Methodius of Patra, proposed an ingenious answer to the problem of how to preserve the traditional interpretation of Byzantium as the fourth and last kingdom that would endure until the Second Coming. It involved the elaboration of a new messianic character, the Last Emperor, who was to oust the Arabs and to rejuvenate the empire and its religion.[41] These two authors wrote at a time when Arab rule was faltering, namely dur-

166/193 (tr. Brock, 72), opined: "What is 'the withholding [power]' if not the care of our Lord?" Seeing that pagan and Christian Rome were so different, the Jews had begun to reorder the Danielic schema into four pairs of kingdoms: Babel and Kasdin, Media and Persia, Greece and Macedonia, Edom and Seir (see Yahalom, "Ḥillūfē malkhūyōt," 5–6).

[38] *Doctrina Jacobi* IV.5 (= Bonwetsch, IV.7), 183; V.5, 193.

[39] E.g. *ibid.* V.16, 209 ("we are preparing to receive the Antichrist"); Sophronius, *Holy Baptism*, 166, ps.-Shenute, *Vision*, 341, and Theophanes, 339 ("the abomination of desolation," mentioned by Daniel xi.31, and cited as one of the signs of the end, when seen "standing in the holy place," by Matthew xxiv.15). See Gil, *History of Palestine*, 63–64, for references to the "the little horn."

[40] John bar Penkaye, 167/194 (tr. Brock, 73).

[41] See the entry on "Ps.-Methodius" in Chapter 8 above.

ing the second civil war (683–92), so it was plausible to postulate its impending dissolution. But the vigorous and long-lasting recovery of the Muslim regime in the reigns of 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd obliged even the most pro-imperial of Christians to countenance the unthinkable and write the Arabs into the Danielic schema as the fourth beast. This was undertaken in the apocalyptic texts known as the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* and the *Vision* of Enoch, both composed in the early eighth century, but in these and later works the Last Emperor or a figure in his image was retained as the one who would terminate Arab dominion and reinstate Christianity.

For those whose interest in the continuity of Byzantine rule was faint, it was easier to envisage a new scenario for world history that assigned to the Byzantines a more minor role. Armenians were fiercely protective of their independence and resented any imperial interference, so it comes as no surprise that already in the 660s one of their number, the chronicler Sebeos, was attempting just such a revision:

> Who can recount the horror of the Ishmaelite invasion which enflamed both sea and land? The blessed Daniel foresaw and prophesied such disasters which would come upon the earth when he represented by four wild beasts the four kingdoms which were to arise in the world. First of all is the beast with human form, the kingdom of the West, which is that of the Greeks....Then there is the second beast, similar to a bear, and it raised itself up on one side, the eastern side. It signifies the kingdom of the Sasanians. "And having in its mouth three ribs" means the kingdom of the Persians, the Medes and the Parthians...."And the third beast, like a leopard, four wings of a bird upon it and four heads of beasts." He means the kingdom of the North, Gog and Magog and their two companions, to whom was given the power to fly with force in their time from the direction of the North. "And the fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, its teeth of iron, its claws of bronze; it devoured and pounded and crushed underfoot all the rest." He is saying that this fourth beast, which rises to go out from the direction of the South, is the kingdom of Ishmael, as the archangel ex-

> plained (to Daniel): "The beast of the fourth kingdom will arise; it will be more powerful than all the [other] kingdoms and will devour all the earth. Its ten horns are the kings that will arise, and then there will arise another who will exceed in wickedness all the previous ones."[42]

What is interesting about this interpretation is that the kingdoms are not successive, but rather are connected with the four quarters of the earth and are contemporaneous with one another, the Arab kingdom eventually usurping the other three.

As a result of the imperial persecutions of the early seventh century, the Copts and Jews too had no fond memories of the Byzantine empire and were happy to portray the Arabs as its successors. On the Coptic side a *terminus ante quem* for such a recasting is given by the apocalypse of ps.-Athanasius, composed *ca.* AH 96/715, which simply states of the Muslims that "this is the fourth beast which the prophet Daniel saw," though regarding them with no affection: "It is a brutal nation with no mercy in its heart." As for the Jews, the transition in their thinking about the Arabs is difficult to chart. At least some of those contemporary with the Muslim conquests looked upon the invaders as the "rod of God's anger" (Isaiah x.5) that would eliminate the "wicked kingdom" of the Byzantines, but certainly by early Abbasid times the Muslims had taken their place in the Danielic schema as the last kingdom that would endure until the world's conclusion.[43]

Abrahamic/Primitive Monotheism

The previous theories about Islam consider only its military and political aspects, but it was also noted by contemporaries that the Arabs had brought with them a faith. The Armenian chronicler Sebeos seems to envisage them as turning away from idolatry and taking up once more their ancestral religion, the core of which was Abrahamic monotheism:

> At this time there was an Ishmaelite called Mahmet, a merchant; he presented himself to them as though at God's command, as a preacher, as the way of truth, and taught

[42]Sebeos, XXXII (tr. Macler, 104–105).

[43]See the entry on "Deliverance from the Wicked Kingdom" in this chapter.

> them to know the God of Abraham, for he was very well informed and very well acquainted with the story of Moses. Since the command came from on high, they all came together, at a single order, in unity of religion, and, abandoning vain cults, returned to the living God who had revealed himself to their father Abraham.

Another writer of the 660s, a resident of Khuzistan, also remarks upon this ancestral Abrahamic connection:

> Regarding the dome of Abraham... the memory of the place was preserved with the generations of their race. Indeed, it was no new thing for the Arabs to worship there, but goes back to antiquity, to their early days, in that they show honour to the father of the head of their people.

These two reports are imparted in a remarkably calm and matter-of-fact tone, though patently coloured by Biblical perceptions.[44] And they receive some confirmation not only from the Qur'an, where Abraham features prominently, but also from the conflict that occurred during the second Arab civil war over the layout of the Meccan sanctuary. The point of contention was the status of the *ḥijr*, a place generally associated in some way with Ishmael. Ibn al-Zubayr sought to include it within the sanctuary, wishing to reinstate "the foundation of Abraham," though for this he was accused by his Marwanid rivals of "deviance in God's sanctuary" (*ilḥād fī ḥaram Allāh*).[45]

In general, however, much of the reason for the presentation of Islam as a religion of Abraham by Christian writers was to emphasise that

[44]They are from Sebeos, XXX (tr. Macler, 95—with a slight amendment on the advice of Robert Thomson), and *Chron. Khuzistan*, 38, and are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 above respectively.

[45]Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 140–46; Ṭabarī, 2.854 (AH 74). On the *ḥijr* see Hawting, "Origins of the Muslim Sanctuary," 33–34, 42–43; Rubin, "The Ka'ba." On Ibn al-Zubayr as a deviant see Madelung, "'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr the *Mulḥid*." The usual accusation against him is that he permitted fighting in the sanctuary (*iḥlāl al-qitāl fī l-ḥaram*), but this explanation does not always fit (cf. the exchange between Ibn al-Zubayr and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Adāt in Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 4.1, 309), and his building activities might have been significant.

it was nothing new, indeed that it was primitive, not having benefited from any of Jesus' modernisations. This same intent is evident in the following frequently encountered characterisation:

> Chroniclers say that Heraclius, when the Arab armies overtook him and seized his lands, assembled all the bishops and the head priests and the rest of the satraps, and interrogated them about the matter of who and what these people were. Once each one of them had replied as best as his knowledge permitted, the subject then lay open for him and he gave his answer thus: "As far as their way of life, manners and belief are concerned," he said, "I see this people as the faint glimmer of first dawn, when it is no longer completely dark, but at the same time it is not yet completely light." They asked him for an explanation of his words, and he continued: "Yes, they have indeed left darkness far behind in that they have rejected the worship of idols and worship the one God, but at the same time they are deprived of the perfect light in that they still fall short of complete illumination in the light of our Christian faith and orthodox confession."[46]

Thus the Arabs are seen as having ascended to the first rung of the monotheist ladder, but as being still a long way off from the more lofty heights of Christianity. Accordingly, Muḥammad is portrayed as a revivalist who reacquainted the Arabs with the one God, from whose service they had lapsed. "As a result of this man's guidance they held to the worship of the one God in accordance with the customs of ancient law" (John bar Penkaye), "he had turned them away from cults of all kinds and taught them that there was one God, Maker of Creation" (*Chron. Zuqnin*), "he enjoined them to belief in the one God, who has no companion, and to reject idolatry" (Agapius), "he returned the worshippers of idols to the knowledge of the one God" (*Hist. Patriarchs*).

Muḥammad himself had, of course, knowledge of Christian doctrines, but it was not possible for him to teach them to the Arabs since

[46]Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, 96–97; given in slightly abbreviated form by *Chron. Siirt* CVI, *PO* 13, 626.

their minds were as yet too immature. This is carefully explained by a monk to his Muslim interlocutor in a passage that is worth quoting in full:

> ARAB: "Tell me the truth, how is Muḥammad our prophet considered in your eyes?"
>
> MONK: "As a wise and God-fearing man who freed you from idolatry and brought you to know the one true God."
>
> ARAB: "Why, if he was wise, did he not teach us from the beginning about the mystery of the Trinity as you profess [it]?"
>
> MONK: "You know, of course, that a child, when it is born, because it does not possess the full faculties for receiving solid food, is nourished with milk for two years, and [only] then they feed it with meat. Thus also Muḥammad, because he saw your simpleness and the deficiency of your understanding, he first taught you of the one true God..., for you were children in terms of your understanding."[47]

This same tack is pursued in the Baḥira story, where Muḥammad is given a simplified version of Christianity to take to the Arabs. Even then he has often to remind his instructor, the monk Baḥira, that "my comrades are uncouth desert Arabs who are not accustomed to fasting and prayer, nor to anything which causes them trouble or bother." And in the end he has to request something more in accord with their capacities: "I taught what you described to me and they did not understand it, so give them something succinct enough that their minds can accept it."[48]

The New Jews

It has often been noted, with some puzzlement, that the rise of Islam coincided with a heightened awareness among Christians of Jews

[47]Monk of Beth Ḥale, *Disputation*, fol. 5a; cf. 1 Corinthians iii.2: "I have fed you with milk and not with meat, for hitherto you were not able to bear it, nor yet now are you able."

[48]Baḥira (Arabic), 64/141, 73/147.

and Judaism. It is not only that the Jews themselves came in for renewed criticism,[49] but that the actions of other parties were presented as having being provoked by Jewish influence or inspired by Jewish thinking. Thus the Muslims trying to build 'Umar I's mosque were said to have removed the cross from the Mount of Olives on the advice of Jews;[50] Yazīd II and Leo III were alleged to have enacted legislation against images in response to the inducement of a long reign promised to them by a Jewish magician;[51] and Iconoclasts were portrayed as having "perpetrated the work of the Jews."[52] Some scholars argue that the anti-Jewish polemic of this period should be understood as a covert attack on Muslims.[53] But Christians do not seem to have had any qualms or fears about abusing the new rulers,[54] and the pervasiveness of such polemic, which is visual as well as literary,[55] suggests there is something more to it.

It is true that in the wake of the disastrous Byzantine defeats of the first half of the seventh century church leaders were under pressure to come up with some triumphalist rhetoric to bolster the morale of their disillusioned flock, and the Jews were of course an easy and familiar target. From the beginning Christianity had defined and asserted itself by differentiating itself from Judaism, and there was every reason why it should continue to do so. The Christians understood well the Jews' scriptural position and had at their disposal a large body of disputa-

[49]Note the proliferation of anti-Jewish treatises from 634 onwards (see the entries on the "Christian Apologist of 634" and "Anti-Jewish Polemicists" in Chapter 3 above).

[50]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 641.

[51]Yazīd: *Concilia sacra*, 13.197B–200B (John of Jerusalem, vicar of the Oriental patriarchs, speaking at the Council of Nicaea in 787), and Theophanes, 401–402. Leo: *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, *PG* 95, 336C–D (possibly also by John of Jerusalem, written *ca.* 780).

[52]*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, *PG* 95, 336B.

[53]Most recently see Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response*, 44, 116, 123–25. For useful discussion of this issue see Cameron, "Byzantines and Jews."

[54]For examples see the entries on "Sophronius," "Maximus the Confessor," "Anastasius of Sinai" and "Germanus" in Chapter 3; those on the *Homily on the Child Saints of Babylon*, "Sebeos" and "John of Nikiu" in Chapter 4; and all the entries in Chapters 8–9 above.

[55]See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, esp. 43–61.

tional literature upon which they could draw. But the Jews were not merely a rhetorical foil, and the polemic against them was not solely about confidence-boosting. In the first place, the involvement of at least some of the Jews in the Persian and Arab conquests had soured relations between the two parties, the Christians feeling genuinely aggrieved.[56] Secondly, those Christians who lived in Muslim-ruled lands now had to rub shoulders with the Jews, both being accorded equal status by the Muslims. As one late seventh-century Mesopotamian writer complained, "there was no distinction between pagan and Christian, the faithful was not known from a Jew."[57] This meant that the Jews could themselves go on the offensive, and it is notable that whereas we have no Jewish anti-Christian treatises from pre-Islamic times, there were quite a number written under Islam.[58] Possibly this had some effect, for in a mid-eighth century Syriac disputation a Jew taunts his Christian interlocutor, saying: "There are among you some Christians who associate with us in the synagogue and who bring offerings and alms and oil, and at the time of the Passover send unleavened bread."[59] At the very least, we can say that Judaism still held a certain attraction and fascination for Christians.

In addition, the fact that some of the beliefs and practices of the Jews were also shared by the newly victorious Arabs—rejection of Jesus as the son of God, circumcision, hostility to veneration of the cross and images, and, in Syria and Palestine at least, prayer towards the south—lent a certain credibility to these beliefs and practices, as is evident from their appearance, especially veneration of the cross and images, in numerous Christian anti-Jewish tracts from the 630s onwards.[60] Because of this common ground between Judaism and Islam, the Christians considered the latter to be Jewish-inspired. So when, in the late sev-

[56]See Dagron, "Juifs et chrétiens," and the entry on "Deliverance from the Wicked Kingdom" in this chapter. Note the report of Eutychius, *Annales*, 2.5–6, that Heraclius was persuaded by the Christians of Jerusalem to punish the Jews for their crimes against the Christians during the Persian conquest.

[57]John bar Penkaye, 151/179.

[58]See Stroumsa, "Jewish Polemics against Islam and Christianity," Section III.

[59]Sergius the Stylite, *Disputation against a Jew* XXII.1, 73–74.

[60]See the entry on "Anti-Jewish Polemicists" in Chapter 3 above. Christ's divinity and circumcision were of course old topics, but images and prayer to the south were new.

enth/early eighth century, the Christians came to polemicise against the Muslims, they turned to these same anti-Jewish writings for ideas, borrowing from them not only their form and arguments, but also often using the same scriptural citations.[61] And the Christian disputant in such anti-Muslim texts could refer to his opponents as "the new Jews" and tell his adversary that "you are believing as a Jew."[62] Thus Christians drew upon their anti-Jewish literary tradition in order to assess and rebut the religious claims of Islam. In that Judaism and Islam do share certain precepts, this approach is to some degree understandable, but since Christian refutations of Judaism were hardly objective documents, often not even well-informed, they obviously led to a rather distorted presentation of Islam.[63]

A Worldly Religion

Vahan, son of Khusrau, lord of Golt'n, was taken from his native Armenia at the age of four and was brought up a Muslim in the city of Damascus during the reigns of Walīd and Sulaymān. When made a free man by 'Umar, he returned to his homeland and soon thereafter adopted Christianity once more, living as an ascetic for six years. After this time he conceived the notion of becoming a martyr for Christ and travelled to the royal palace at Ruṣafa in the hope of obtaining an audience with "the tyrant" Hishām. The latter, on learning Vahan's story, endeavoured to entice him back into the Islamic fold:

> He ordered his treasurers to display before Vahan precious objects of gold and silver and patterned garments of silk, then he added: "You malicious and wicked man, take all these goods, attendants, slaves, horses, mules, camels, and

[61] Demonstrated by Harris, "A Tract on the Triune Nature of God," with regard to the Christian Arabic text *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* (see the entry thereon in Chapter 11 above). Note his comment at 76 that "the value then of the tract consists in the fact that it is a survival of anti-Judaic literature." See also the entries on "Patriarch John I" and a "Monk of Beth Ḥale" in Chapter 11 above.

[62] Cheikho, *Dialectique du langage sur Dieu*, 275/186 (citing from letter no. 40 of Timothy I); Theodore bar Koni, *Scholia* X.8, 2.276 (*yihūdā'īt*).

[63] See Griffith, "Jews and Muslims in Christian Syriac and Arabic Texts;" Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, 78–103 (though there are no representations of Muslims in these psalters).

> I will give you also a governorship, either here or at Golt'n, your principality. Consider that our Prophet has given us in this world a great empire and has reserved for us on high the delights of a paradise prepared [just] for us." The saint made this reply: "For a long time I have been acquainted with your perfidious, deceitful and wily counsel; I know that by your guile many people have been drawn into the abyss of perdition and have become your companions [destined] for hell. You have frightened some with threats and seduced others with gentle and flattering words, others again have been overwhelmed with vain and idle goods and perishable riches. You have deceived a good number of them by promising to them eternal life and the joys of paradise, and always your skill and perfidy have been employed to divert vacillating souls from the broad path and to precipitate them into the pit of perdition. To those I make this promise that they will be eternally tormented by the flames of hell. But I, a servant of God, I will not succumb to any of your malicious ruses, for I am protected by fear of God, fortified by knowledge of the holy scriptures and the precepts of Christ, which assures that I know better than you the fallaciousness of your fanciful doctrines."[64]

A scene such as this features time and time again in martyrdom accounts: some Muslim governor or ruler will indicate the advantages of wealth, status and physical pleasures offered by Islam, and the would-be martyr spurns them in favour of the lasting and spiritual riches bestowed by Christianity, which had no need of incentives for its propagation:

> Paul possessed neither swords nor treasures. He was toiling with his hands and he was being provided for by means of

[64]Vahan, *Passion*, VI (tr. Gatteyrias, 202–203). Cf. *Concilia sacra* 13.357: "John (of Damascus)... abandoned all, emulating the evangelist Matthew, and followed Christ, considering the shame of Christ as a richness superior to the treasures which are in Arabia. He chose rather to suffer with the people of God than to enjoy the temporary pleasure of sin."

> that, and he was conducting himself in accordance with all [the laws]; he was commanding fasting and holiness, not abominable fornication. Nor was he making promises of eternal eating or marriage, but rather of [an eternal] kingdom.[65]

The message is simple: Islam is a worldly religion, spread by worldly means and maintained by worldly inducements. Here it is bluntly put, for martyrologies were about flag-waving, not truth-seeking, but in the genre of disputations, though more subtly argued, the point remained the same:

> There is another reason why we have come to the conclusion that the Christian religion is from God, namely that the [Christian] nations have been led to [become] disciples of Christ and to accept that religion by the power of God and not by the power of men, nor by their coercion, nor their ruses nor their enticements, as is the case with other religions.[66]

This idea became further developed by later apologetes, both Christian and Jewish, as a way of testing the veracity of a religion. If it could be shown that its success derived from mundane circumstances (*asbāb al-dunyā*, *asbāb al-arḍ*), then that religion was evidently not from God, but a religion of men. The Jacobite theologian Abū Rā'iṭa proposed six categories of unworthy motives for adoption of a religion: worldly desire, ambition, fear, license, personal whim and partisanship, and these are found with only minor variations in a host of other polemical works.[67] Inevitably Islam was found guilty on all counts, and so

[65]Michael the Sabaite, *Passion*, §8.

[66]Theodore Abū Qurra, *Fī wujūd al-khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*, 259.

[67]Abū Rā'iṭa, *Rasā'il* no. 8 (*Fī ithbāt al-dīn al-naṣrānīya*), 131–32. Cf. 'Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān*, 32–33, and *Masā'il wa-ajwiba*, 136–37; Dāwūd al-Muqammiṣ, *'Ishrūn maqāla*, XIV; Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in his letter to Yaḥyā ibn al-Munajjim cited by Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides*, 103. Other examples and further discussion are given in Griffith, "Comparative Religion in the Apologetics of the First Christian Arabic Theologians."

discounted as a divinely inspired religion and labelled "a religion established by the sword and not a faith confirmed by miracles."[68]

[68]As the catholicos Ḥnanisho' declared to 'Abd al-Malik (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, 2.136). The point of this polemic by Christians and Jews was of course to discourage conversion to Islam amongst their own people.

CHAPTER 13

USING NON-MUSLIM SOURCES: AN EMPIRICAL APPROACH

IN THIS CHAPTER three issues have been selected upon which there is disagreement or indifference in the secondary literature, then non-Muslim sources adduced to see whether, when used in conjunction with Muslim and archaeological evidence, they can offer solutions to or new perspectives on the problem.[1] It must be stressed before proceeding that evaluation of the usefulness of non-Muslim testimony for questions of Islamic history is the primary aim here, and the following essays are not meant as a comprehensive argument for or against the issue.

Islam in the First Century AH

Though concrete evidence remains scant, enough exists to confirm that Muslim scholarship was already under way in the first half of the eighth century. A papyrus of the late Umayyad period contains a recognisable piece of the Prophet's biography;[2] a number of theological texts fit best into a late Umayyad context,[3] and the first Muslim creed makes its ap-

[1]This has been done in an exemplary fashion by Chase Robinson in his "The Conquest of Khūzistān." See also my "Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam."

[2]*Khirbat al-Mird Papyri*, no. 71, on which see Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 226–30.

[3]Though unwilling to commit himself, this is the preferred opinion of Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (e.g. 66, 88, 102–103), for the texts first presented by van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie* (who dated them to AH 70–90).

pearance in the mid-eighth century.[4] A discussion of prayer during a solar eclipse yields a time and date for such an incident (between afternoon and evening prayer 27 Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 113) which corresponds to modern astronomical calculations (4.45–5.00 pm, 1 March 732), and so must be a genuine report.[5] The legal compendium of 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 826) has been analysed by Motzki and shown to derive largely from the compilations of Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 770), Ibn Jurayj (d. 767) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 776). Furthermore, 40 percent of the writings of Ibn Jurayj are said to come from 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (d. 733), mostly in the form of statements (*dicta*) or answers to questions (*responsa*). Ninety-two percent of these *responsa* and eighty percent of the *dicta* are given as 'Aṭā's personal opinion (*ra'y*), suggesting that 'Aṭā's own legal thinking is to some degree recoverable.[6] The subsequent development of Muslim learning is in some measure documentable.[7] This is not so for the period before AH 100/718. That is not to say there was no such activity, but that it is not possible to track and chart it.

This problem of the late formation of the Muslim literary tradition, compounded with a dearth of physical evidence and a dose of empirical fundamentalism, has resulted in much speculation among scholars as to what form of Islam might have existed in the first few decades after the Arab conquests.[8] It is of course true that "new religions do not spring fully-fledged from the heads of prophets" and that Islam must have had "a period of development prior to the formulation of orthodoxy

[4]See Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 102–24, on Abū Ḥanīfa's *Al-fiqh al-akbar*. If the authenticity of this text is somewhat suspect (van Ess, "Kritisches zum *Fiqh Akbar*"), his letter to a certain 'Uthmān al-Battī is on the other hand usually considered authentic and contains credal material (*idem*, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1.192–205).

[5]Muranyi, "Zwischen *'Aṣr* und *Maġrib* in Mekka."

[6]Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq," 6–13.

[7]In the field of law see Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, and in the realm of theology see van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie*, and now his *Theologie und Gesellschaft*.

[8]Though in very different ways and with very different conclusions this is true of Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*; Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies* and *Sectarian Milieu*; Bashear, *Al-ta'rīkh al-ākhar*; Sharon, "The Umayyads as *Ahl al-Bayt*," 122–25; Nevo and Koren, *Crossroads to Islam*; Donner, "From Believers to Muslims."

and scriptural canonisation,"[9] but endeavours to strip off the classical veneer and reveal the formative undercoat have often been somewhat cavalier and conjectural.[10] Though they may be few,[11] non-Muslim and archaeological testimonies, when carefully supplemented by Muslim evidence, can give us some interesting insights into the first century of Islam, precisely because we can restrict ourselves to those pertaining to that period, as will be done in the following sketch.[12]

In the early 640s the historical record alerts us to a new phenomenon disrupting the familiar course of the Late Antique world. Arabs, equipped with a new name for themselves (*muhājirūn*) and a new era, were overrunning regions as far afield as Egypt and Iraq and demanding provisions from the local populations to facilitate their progress.[13] Patently a new movement had been born, but its nature is unclear. Papyri and inscriptions are dated according to "the year..." or "the year... according to the Arabs (*kat' arabas*)," and many East Syrian texts according to "the year... of the rule of the Arabs," but without

[9]Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 10, and Nevo, "Towards a Prehistory of Islam," 108, respectively.

[10]Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, are too willing to accept the non-Muslim sources at face-value; Sharon, "Birth of Islam in the Holy Land," and Nevo and Koren, *Crossroads to Islam*, place heavy weight on anomalies and silences in the archaeological record (cf. *eidem*, "Methodological Approaches to Islam," 91–92, 100–105). Bashear, *Al-ta'rīkh al-ākhar*, is more careful, but some of his interpretations are arbitrary (e.g. the similarities in the biographies of the Prophet and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya are explained in *ibid.*, 158, 163–65, 192–93, as the result of a desire to pad out the Prophet's biography, but it is equally—if not more—plausible to assume that they derive from a wish to establish Ibn al-Ḥanafīya's credentials).

[11]Wansbrough, "Res Ipsa Loquitur," 10, exaggerates when he says we have "neither artifact nor archive."

[12]In what follows, references to non-Muslim sources that have been given before will not be repeated; see then the relevant entry in Part II above.

[13]The Arabic name and/or its Greek rendering *magaritai*, plus the new dating, appear in numerous papyri of Egypt from 642 onwards; the earliest firmly dated example is *Papyri ERF*, no. 558 (Pharmouthi indiction 1 and Jumādā I "of the year 22" = April 643). Otherwise, the dating is found on inscriptions from AH 31/651–52 onwards (see Excursus F below). The earliest literary attestation of the name is in Syriac (rendered *mhaggrē*) from a letter of the catholicos Isho'yahb III (*Ep.* 48B, 97), written in Iraq *ca.* 640s; and the dating first appears in the preamble to the Nestorian synod which took place "in the year 57 of the rule of the Arabs" (*Synodicon orientale*, 216).

it ever being explained what was the event that inaugurated this calendar. The same obscurity envelops the Arabs' new name, though papyri illustrate that it signalled a certain exclusivity, not all being allowed to claim it,[14] and that its bearer was a soldier and endowed with fiscal rights.[15] The non-Muslim sources make use of, but pass no comment on, the new appellation,[16] and it is only from the Islamic tradition that we learn of its primary significance, namely emigration (*hijra*) from the homeland to man the new garrison cities being established in the conquered lands.[17]

The foundation document of the new movement, the so-called *Constitution of Medina*, refers to its signatories as "believers" (*mu'minūn*),[18] a term found in a number of early Arabic inscriptions where the leader of the community is styled as "commander of the believers" (*amīr al-mu'minīn*).[19] The *Constitution of Medina* also informs

[14] *Aphrodito Papyri*, nos. 1433, 1441, 1447, distinguish between *mōagaritai* and *mauloi*. See Crone, "First-Century Concept of *Hiğra*," 365; Athamina, "*A'rāb* and *Muhājirūn* in the Environment of *Amṣār*."

[15] That the *muhājirūn* were fighters is clear from the Qur'an, and their entitlement to receive stipends from the proceeds of the immovable spoils of war (*fay'*) is indicated by papyri and Muslim sources (for both points and illustrative references see Crone, "First-Century Concept of *Hiğra*," 354–65).

[16] A Nestorian scribe records the completion of a copy of the New Testament "in the year 993 of the Greeks, which is year 63 of the *mhaggrāyē*, the sons of Ishmael son of Hagar [and] son of Abraham" (Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.92 [no. 142]), from which conjunction one might conclude that Eastern Christians made a connection between the invading Arabs' epithet for themselves (*muhājirūn*) and their status as sons of Hagar, but this is not certain. For other examples of the use of the term *mhaggrāyē* see the entries on "Daniel of Edessa," "Athanasius of Balad," "Theodotus of Amida," "Jacob of Edessa" and "Isho'yahb III" in Chapters 3–4 above.

[17] As is argued convincingly by Crone, "First-Century Concept of *Hiğra*;" see also Madelung, "Has the *Hijra* Come to an End?," and Rubin, "*Hijra* and *Muhājirūn* in Early Islam," Section B2.

[18] The term appears a total of 32 times. This document is found in Ibn Hishām, 341–44, and Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 290–94; it is translated and commented upon by Serjeant, "The *Sunnah Jāmi'ah*." Its authenticity is championed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 4.80–81; Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, 64–68; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 7.

[19] See Excursus F, nos. 6 (AH 41), 7 (AH 42), 16 (AH 58), below, where the title appears in Persian, Greek and Arabic respectively.

us that these "believers" had come together "under the protection of God" (*dhimmat Allāh*) so that they might fight in His cause (*fī sabīl Allāh*). This concept of a holy war is also hinted at by papyri, where demands for the army's sustenance are always made "in the name of God."[20] Thus our soldiers possessed, and fought in the name of, a faith, but what was its nature? Non-Muslim writers of the first century AH attest that it was strictly monotheistic (Sebeos, John bar Penkaye, Anastasius of Sinai) and iconoclastic (anti-Jewish polemicists, Germanus); that its adherents had a sanctuary, their "House of God" (Bar Penkaye), of Abrahamic association (Chronicler of Khuzistan, Jacob of Edessa), called the Ka'ba (Jacob of Edessa), towards which they prayed (Jacob of Edessa) and at which they sacrificed (Anastasius of Sinai) and reverenced a stone (Anastasius of Sinai, Germanus); and also that they followed Muḥammad (Thomas the Presbyter, Sebeos, Chronicler of Khuzistan), who was their "guide" and "instructor" (Bar Penkaye), whose "tradition" and "laws" they fiercely upheld (Bar Penkaye) and who prescribed for them abstinence from carrion, wine, falsehood and fornication (Sebeos). It is also noted that the Muslims held Jerusalem in honour (John Moschus, Arculf, Maronite chronicler, Anastasius of Sinai), were hostile to the cross (Sophronius, Isaac of Rakoti, Anastasius of Sinai), denied that Christ was the son of God (Isaac of Rakoti, Ḥnanisho', Anastasius of Sinai, Jacob of Edessa) and conducted their worship in specific places bearing the name *masjid* (John Moschus, Anastasius of Sinai).[21]

It is thus evident that the early Muslims did adhere to a cult that had definite practices and beliefs and was clearly distinct from other

[20]See Excursus F, no. 1, below.

[21]Rendered by (ps.-)John Moschus as *midzgitha*, by Anastasius as *masgida* (see the entry on "George the Black" in Chapter 9 above; the same word is found in *Aphrodito Papyri*, no. 1403), and it is translated in Simon ben Yoḥai, *Secrets*, 79, as *hishtaḥawāyā*. The similarity in the layout of many of the mosques built in Marwanid times (enclosure containing courtyard and hypostyle prayer hall at one end) suggest that a particular conception of the mosque already existed in pre-Marwanid times (deriving from the Prophet's or 'Umar's mosque?). Unfortunately we have no archaeological evidence for pre-'Abd al-Malik mosques, except perhaps some remnants of Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān's reconstruction of the one at Kufa in AH 50/670 (see the entry on "Sacred Direction in Islam" in this chapter) and of 'Umar I's building at Jerusalem (see Raby, "Aqṣa and the Anastasis").

currrently existing faiths.[22] This is also confirmed by archaeology for the period beginning AH 72/691, when inscriptions proclaiming allegiance to Muḥammad and his religion are found in abundance on buildings, milestones, rocks, coins, papyri, textiles and so on. "Our lord is the one God, our religion is Islam and our prophet is Muḥammad," as it is succinctly put by Walīd in his inscription of AH 87/706 on the mosque of Damascus.[23] Yet before AH 72 the archaeological record is strangely silent about Islam, and this despite the fact that we do have a fair amount of material from this time.[24] A similar problem occurs with regard to the Qur'an, which seems to have been ignored by Muslims as a source of law until the early eighth century.[25] What are we to make of these omissions? It is of course true that only with the passage of time does a man become a hero and a book authoritative, but this does not explain the abruptness of the appearance of Muḥammad and Islam in inscriptions, nor can it account for the near immutability of the text of the Muslim scripture.[26]

Though accorded little attention, there are actually a very few artefacts of Islamic colouring before AH 72, namely three Arab–Sasanian *dirhams* on the margin of which is inscribed a truncated Muslim pro-

[22]Against Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu*, 118, who maintains that the non-Muslim testimony is "confessionally indifferent or, at least, not sufficiently distinctive to permit identification of that community." And against Donner, "From Believers to Muslims," who argues that Muḥammad's community itself was confessionally indeterminate for the first decades of its existence.

[23]Full text given in Excursus F, no. v, below.

[24]The language of this material (collected in Excursus F below) is monotheist (refers to God, believers etc.), but not specifically Islamic. There are a few coins with the name "Muḥammad" written in the margin in Pahlavi or Arabic script, but this is almost certainly a reference to a governor, not the Prophet; the unusual weight standard of this series suggests it may derive from Azerbaijan, in which case the governor might be Muḥammad ibn Marwān (see Sears, "The Sasanian Style Coins of 'Muhammad'").

[25]Pointed out by Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 188, 226–27, and thoroughly discussed by Crone, "Two Legal Problems Bearing on the Early History of the Qur'ān."

[26]Difficult words and concepts were not replaced with more familiar ones, as one might have expected to happen if the Qur'an had not already achieved canonical status; instead there exist a plethora of explanations for a single invariable word (cf. Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 204–13, on *īlāf*).

fession of faith: "In the name of God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God" (*bismillāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*). All were minted at Bishapur in Fars and bear the usual imperial bust on the obverse and a Sasanian fire-altar on the reverse. Two of them are dated to the years 66 and 67, which in the Hijri era correspond to 685–86 and 686–87, and the issuing authority is named as 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh.[27] This could either be 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd or 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz.[28] Both had distinguished fathers with a connection to Fars: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir had been instrumental in its conquest while governor of Baṣra in AH 29–35/650–56 and 41–44/661–65, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid had governed it briefly for Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (45–53/665–73).[29]

But for a number of reasons it must be the son of the former who is mentioned on the two *dirhams*. At the time these coins were struck, Fars was under the control of the rebel caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, and so it is highly improbable that any relative of 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd, an eminent Umayyad, would have been set over it. Only when the caliph 'Abd al-Malik gained the upper hand do we hear of his family holding office once more.[30] This was not, however, the case for the sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir: 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir was

[27]Excursus F, no. 21, below (the truncated *shahāda* is in Arabic, the rest is in Pahlavi). Album, "Sasanian Motifs Used in Islamic Coinage," xix–xx, divides the pre-reform Arab–Sasanian coins into three phases: (a) 652–61: coins bearing only the names of Khusrau or Yazdgird, dated in either the Yazdgird or Hijri era; (b) 661–71: "coins of the anonymous 'Khusrau' type alongside coins bearing the name of an Umayyad official," dated in either the Yazdgird or Hijri era; (c) 671–92: "all coins bear the name of an Umayyad or Zubayrite official," "Hijri dates dominate at most mints save Darabgird." So we may be reasonably sure that these two coins bear Hijri dates.

[28]Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 4.1, 405 ('Abd al-Malik...ibn Kurayz), 458, 478 ('Abd al-Malik...ibn Asīd).

[29]On 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir see *EI*^{2} and *EIr*, *s.v.*; on 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid's appointment see Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 4.1, 458.

[30]Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālid ibn Asīd became governor of Baṣra in AH 71 (see below for discussion of the date); his brother Umayya ibn 'Abd Allāh became governor of Sistan and Khurasan in AH 73 (Khalīfa, 295; Walker, *Catalogue*, 1.107); 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh, their half-brother, was governor of Mecca for the caliphs Sulaymān and 'Umar II (Khalīfa, 317, 323).

married to Ibn al-Zubayr's sister, named Hind,[31] and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir was entrusted with the governorship of Sistan by Ibn al-Zubayr's brother Muṣ'ab in AH 66.[32] It seems most likely, then, that the two sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz, governed Fars and Sistan respectively on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr in the years AH 66–67.[33]

If this reconstruction is correct, it would mean that the earliest attested Islamic profession comes from an opposition party. This is not implausible. That the revolt of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr had religious implications is confirmed by a contemporary Christian source, which says of him that "he had come out of zeal for the house of God and he was full of threats against the Westerners, claiming that they were transgressors of the law."[34] And an Arab apocalypse, which must have been composed before the assumption of full control by 'Abd al-Malik, maintains that through Ibn al-Zubayr Islam "will settle down firmly on the ground."[35] Moreover, other insurrectionary figures of a religious hue flourished during this civil war, such as the enigmatic Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya,[36] the "cudgel-bearers" (*khashshābīya*) of Mukhtār ibn

[31]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 67. We first hear of him at the beginning of the second civil war when he was called upon by the Baṣrans to be their governor after the flight of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and the killing of his deputy Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr al-Azdī; Ṭabarī, 2:463 (AH 64), says he held this position for one month.

[32]Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 149; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 398; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 17.167; confirmed by three coins minted in Sistan and dated 66 (Excursus F, no. 20, below).

[33]Coins dated 67–70 were struck at Bishapur in the name of 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar (Excursus F, no. 23, below). This man was deputy governor of Baṣra for Muṣ'ab in AH 67, then was appointed to Fars (Ṭabarī, 2.751, 753–54). 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir may have been in power somewhat longer, for we do not hear of any other governor of Sistan until 'Abd al-Malik appointed 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn 'Adī, whom he dismissed shortly after and entrusted its governorship together with that of Khurasan to Umayya ibn 'Abd Allāh in AH 73 (see n. 30 above).

[34]John bar Penkaye, 155/183 (tr. Brock, 64). Note that even the Marwanid polemic against Ibn Zubayr is religious in tone (see Madelung, "'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr the *Mulḥid*").

[35]Quoted in full in the entry on "'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and the Mahdī" in Chapter 8 above.

[36]A very interesting account of him is given by Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5.91–116, where he is greeted as *mahdī* (5.94, 95) and recognised as *min bayt nubūwa* by the exilarch (*ra's al-jālūt*), the head of the Jewish community (5.113).

Abī 'Ubayd known for "their zeal for righteousness,"[37] and another pretender to the caliphate, the Kharijite leader Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, who struck coins declaring that "judgement belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*).[38]

The total lack of specifically Islamic declarations made by the Sufyanid line of Umayyads, the proliferation of them issued by the Marwanid branch and the religious causes espoused by the various opposition movements of the intervening civil war lead us to the conclusion that it was pressure from rebel factions that induced the Marwanids to proclaim Islam publicly as the ideological basis of the Arab state. But the soundness of this move must have been evident to 'Abd al-Malik, for it offered him a way to rally the competing parties of this divisive civil war and to steal the thunder from his opponents. The enthusiasm with which he and his successors pursued the policy illustrates that they saw in it a means to strengthen their own legitimacy, styling themselves as God's deputies on earth with the right and responsibility to determine matters of religion.[39]

A less circumstantial link between the rebel slogans and 'Abd al-Malik's official proclamations is possibly provided by the third *dirham* bearing the truncated profession of faith. This was also minted at Bishapur, but in the year 71 and on behalf of an Umayyad, namely Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh.[40] This man was on intimate terms with 'Abd al-Malik and stayed by his side in Syria during the early years of the civil war. He then left to attempt a sortie upon Baṣra and, though unsuccessful, was rewarded by the caliph with the governorship of Baṣra "once his rule was on a sound footing," that is, "when 'Abd al-Malik had

[37]John bar Penkaye, 158/185 (tr. Brock, 66); on the appellation *al-khashshābīya* see *EI* [2], *s.v.*

[38]Excursus F, no. 25, below (a coin of AH 69 minted at Bishapur and proclaiming the rebel as "servant of God" and "commander of the faithful").

[39]In the archaeological record 'Abd al-Malik is the first to claim the title "deputy of God" (*khalīfat Allāh*), the earliest dated testimony being a coin of AH 75/694 (Miles, "Miḥrāb and 'Anazah," 171); before this only the modest "servant of God" (*'abd Allāh*) and "commander of the faithful" (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) are used. When considering the text of the Dome of the Rock (Excursus F, no. i, below), one should note not just the content, but the very fact that 'Abd al-Malik presumed to dictate doctrine, to Christians as well as Muslims.

[40]See Excursus F, no. 26, below.

killed Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr."[41] Arabic sources are divided over whether the latter died in autumn AH 71/690 or 72/691.[42] The numismatic evidence would seem to favour the earlier date, for not only is the coin of Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh dated 71, but so too is one struck by the local Umayyad governor in Fars, Muqātil ibn Misma'.[43] And this fits with the statement of a Mesopotamian chronicler that in the year AG 1002/690–91 "there was peace and the entire land submitted to the authority of 'Abd al-Malik."[44] If the date of Khālid's coin is accepted, then we have here a clear indication that Zubayrid slogans were taken up and used by the Umayyads for their own purposes.

The exact mechanics of this policy change on the part of the Marwanids will remain opaque until more study has been done of the coinage and events of the second civil war, but that they effected such a shift seems irrefutable. This then begs the question of what they were changing from: that is, what had been the rationale of the Arab polity before 'Abd al-Malik? As is clear from non-Muslim testimony, there was a recognisably Islamic cult at this time, but, as is evident from the extant archaeological evidence, it was not publicly proclaimed. So what exactly was happening?

One way to approach this question would be to consider to what extent Muḥammad's organisation of and directives for his community would have been continued by his immediate successors. His measures in this sphere have to some degree been preserved for us in the *Constitution of Medina*. This offers a blueprint for a single politico-religious community uniting different religious denominations under the "protection of God" to fight on His behalf. The only requirement was that every signatory "affirm what is in this document and believe in God and the Last Day," accept God and Muḥammad as the ultimate arbiter

[41]Balādhurī, *Ansāb* 4.1, 462 (*kāna bi-l-Shām ma'a 'Abd al-Malik yuḥibbuhu wa-yastaṣhibuhu*), 464 (*ba'da istiqāmat al-umūr lahu*), 465 (*lammā qatala 'Abd al-Malik Muṣ'ab*); cf. Ṭabarī, 2.798–800.

[42]Caetani, *Chron.*, 839–40, 845–46.

[43]Walker, *Catalogue*, 1.105; the appointment is confirmed by Ṭabarī, 2.822 (specifying Ardashir Khurrah). One might choose to read 73 (SIHFTAT) instead of 71 (AYHFTAT) were it an isolated coin, but the existence of two coins seemingly dated 71 makes this option less plausible. Note that Ṭabarī, 2.818, places Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh's appointment in AH 71.

[44]*Chron. Zuqnin*, 154; partially confirmed by *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 692.

for all parties, "help one another against whomsoever fights the people of this document" and contribute to the war effort.[45] That Muḥammad himself initiated this war effort, campaigning north in the direction of Syria, is clearly stated by Muslim and non-Muslim writers.[46] Thus we might envisage the first caliphs as extending this policy, effectively running a "*jihād* state," a politico-religious entity comprising fighting men of different religious affiliations whose overriding aim was the expansion of the state in the name of God.[47] Muslim sources tend to assume that non-Muslims who participated in the conquests must have converted at an early stage, but the prosopographical evidence suggests rather that many remained in their own religion until much later.[48] The religiously pluralist character of the community would explain why no Islamic pretensions were advanced and why the leader was designated by such neutral terms as "servant of God" and "commander of the faithful." The latter would have replaced Muḥammad as the arbiter for all parties,[49] and the Qur'an would at this time have been of significance only for the Muslim members rather than authoritative for

[45]See Hoyland, "Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam," 93–96. The religious independence of the signatories to the document is clear from the clause: "The Jews have their religion and the Muslims have their religion." The compromise religious formula, that all believe in God and the Last Day, is also found in *ḥadīth* (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2.175: *man kāna yu'minu billāh wa-l-yawm al-ākhir....*); see Kister, "... *illā bi ḥaqqihi*," 41–49.

[46]E.g. *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, §13: "They invaded the provinces of Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia; above them holding the leadership was one Muḥammad by name;" Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (preserved in Michael the Syrian 11.II, 405/403, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.228): "He led a band of them who were obedient to him and began to go up to the land of Palestine plundering, enslaving and pillaging;" Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59: "The messenger of God set out for Tabuk in the land of Syria for the purpose of raiding...."

[47]Cf. Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, esp. 11–35, though he does not make clear what he means by the term and assumes that it was only open to Muslims.

[48]In the early eighth century many of the Mardaites and Asāwira still enjoyed exemption from poll-tax and participated in Muslim campaigns, yet were not Muslim (see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 161; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 237–38 n. 362). And many clients of Muslims were not themselves Muslim (some examples given in *ibid.*, 237 n. 358).

[49]Cf. Mu'āwiya's arbitration between Jews and Christians in the matter of the cloth of Jesus (see the entry on "Arculf" in Chapter 6 above).

the whole community. 'Umar's grant to Jews of right of residence in Jerusalem and Mu'āwiya's tour of the Christian holy sites in that city might then be interpreted as moves to reassure the Jewish and Christian elements in the community of the leadership's impartiality.[50] And 'Abd al-Malik's innovation would have been to elevate Islam to the position of the state religion as opposed to one of a number of creeds of equal standing.

Another possible approach to the problem would be to take our cue from the material culture of the first seven decades after the Hijra, which displays little change from that of the immediately preceding decades.[51] So if the pre-'Abd al-Malik Arab polity was distinct from its Marwanid successor, was it rather more akin to its pre-Islamic predecesors? The sixth century witnessed renewed hostilities between Byzantium and Persia, and with the increased centralisation of the latter empire achieved by Kavad and Khusrau I these hostilities were more intensive than in earlier centuries. In particular, they affected many neighbouring peoples as both empires actively sought to bring them into their orbit.[52] The Arabs of the peninsular and Syrian desert were both the beneficiaries and victims of this imperial scramble for

[50]Regarding Jews in Jerusalem see the entries on "Sebeos" and "Jewish Texts" in Chapters 4 and 10 above respectively; on Mu'āwiya's pilgrimage see *Chron. Maronite*, 71.

[51]E.g. Walmsley, "The Social and Economic Regime at Fihl," 256: "Neither the Islamic conquest nor the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty was accompanied by any appreciable modification to the ceramic inventory at Fihl....Two periods of accelerated change, which involved the loss of some wares and the appearance of new types, occurred between AD 600 and 900. The first can be dated to the end of the 7th and early 8th century, the second to the first half of the 9th century." Dated Christian tombstones in southern Palestine and Jordan are found in considerable numbers from the mid-sixth to the late seventh century, petering out *ca.* 680 (Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, 83–84, 94–97; Schick, "The Settlement Pattern of Southern Jordan," 138–41). And it is well known that until AH 72 only Byzantine coins or imitations thereof circulated in the West (most recently see Bates, "Byzantine Coinage and its Imitations").

[52]Cf. Beeston, "The Martyrdom of Azqir," 7: "I am increasingly inclined to see the conflicts of the early sixth century in Yemen not as religious wars between Christians and anti-Christians, but as in the main occasioned by the antagonisms between pro- and anti-Byzantine parties" (though in the sixth century being pro-Byzantine was intimately bound up with being Christian).

influence. They could extract subsidies and power,[53] but at the price of compromising their freedom of action. Various Arab confederations emerged, the most well known being the Ghassanids and Lakhmids, allied to the Byzantines and Persians respectively. We know very little about the Lakhmids, but we can see that the Ghassanids had over the course of the sixth century built up a considerable power base for themselves in Jordan and southern Syria. This is illustrated by the buildings and inscriptions which commemorate the names of their rulers, and by contemporary Syriac documents that speak of their patronage of and arbitration in matters of religion.[54] Greek and Syriac texts mention them alongside Byzantine emperors as "our most pious and Christ-loving kings," even speaking of their "kingdom."[55] And in the verses of their poets there would seem to be none more powerful:

> Do you not see that God has granted you such a degree of power that you will observe every king trembling at your feet.
>
> For you are the sun, the kings are stars; when the sun rises, no star will be seen.[56]

The elevation to power of these confederations meant that what had formerly been squabbles between them now became significant confrontations:

> Whoever examines the battle days of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times and becomes acquainted with their campaigns will find all of them or most of them to be no more than raids (*ighārāt*)....One or a few of them (the participants) might be killed, or one or a few of them be captured, or none of them would be killed. And this was the extent of

[53]Cf. ps.-Joshua the Stylite: "To the Arabs on both sides this war was a source of much profit and they wrought their will upon both kingdoms" (cited by Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," 108–109).

[54]Gaube, "Arabs in Sixth-Century Arabia;" Shahid, *BASIC1*, esp. 117–24, 325–31, 489–512, 805–38.

[55]*Ibid.*, 95–117, 542–48, 812–13.

[56]Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (wr. *ca.* 600), *Dīwān*, 28 (*ayyu l-rijāli l-muhadhdhabu*, ll. 9–10).

> their fighting in all their battle days or most of them until the three aforementioned battle days, namely the Day of Jabala, the Day of Kullab al-Thani and the Day of Dhu Qar.[57]

One wonders, then, whether the Arab conquests had begun as a similar clash between the Ḥijazi and Ghassanid confederations, the former intending to usurp the latter's position. There were a number of very early engagements between the two.[58] Jabiya, the Ghassanid headquarters, was the primary destination of 'Umar on his journey to Syria and remained an important political seat in early Islam until the time of 'Abd al-Malik.[59] In addition, there do survive some anti-Ghassanid sentiments in Muslim sources.[60] And like the Ghassanids, the Ḥijazi Arabs effected little change in the Byzantine administration, and depended upon coinage minted in Constantinople until 'Abd al-Malik's time. One might postulate the same scenario for the Lakhmid kingdom at Ḥira. Certainly it seemed obvious to a resident of Khuzistan in the 660s that the present-day Arab rulers were simply a continuation of the earlier Arab kings of Ḥira.[61] And Mesopotamian chroniclers regarded 'Alī as a king of the East, based at Ḥira/Kufa, rivalling Mu'āwiya in the West. One might combine this with the first

[57]Abū l-Baqā', *Manāqib*, 1.201. *Ibid.*, 1.191–92 (cf. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 10.34), explains these battles as being between the tribes of Tamīm and 'Āmir, Yaman and Tamīm, Bakr ibn Wā'il and the Persians respectively, and dates them to 30 or 40 years before Islam, to Muḥammad's Meccan period (610–22), and to AH 2/623–24 respectively. Military activity by Arabs in the first three decades of the seventh century is noted by *Chron. Siirt* LXXXVII, *PO* 13, 539–40; *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 610–11; Antiochus, *Ep. ad Eustathium*, *PG* 89, 1424–25; Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 326.

[58]De Goeje, *Mémoire*, 4–9, 10–17 (campaign against Dumat al-Jandal, where resided the phylarch Ukaydir, of Kinda, another Arab confederation, which was allied to Ghassan); Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 107–10; Schick, "Jordan on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest," 112–13.

[59]Busse, "'Omar In Jerusalem," 73–75; *EI*^{2}, *s.v.* "Djābiya;" Shahid, *BASIC1*, 649. See also *idem*, "Ghassānid and Umayyad Structures."

[60]Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8.132 (when someone told 'Umar he had some bad news, 'Umar said: "Has Ghassan come?"); Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 2.28, 3.289 (the Prophet asked God to let the kingdom of Ghassan disappear).

[61]*Chron. Khuzistan*, 38.

proposal and envisage that the Muslims and those collaborating with them had overthrown the former Arab client states and were making use of the power base the latter had built up to carry out their holy war.[62]

These suggestions are meant only as stimuli to debate rather than solutions to the question, for it seems that the problem of early Islam is not so much lack of the right materials, but of the right perspectives. Events of the first decades AH that a Muslim of the third century would consider central to his faith, may well have been tangential at the time. This is not to belittle those events. They can have been of the utmost significance, but this is often only likely to be appreciated in hindsight once their repercussions had made themselves felt. Thus writers of the eighth century and later would regard the defeat of the Byzantines and Iranians to have been achieved with the battles of Yarmuk and Qadisiya or very shortly thereafter. This was not, however, the case for contemporaries. During the first Arab civil war a large Muslim contingent in Egypt evidently thought that their period of suzerainty was over, for "they negotiated with the king of the Greeks, concluded a peace with him and went over to his side."[63] A Christian inhabitant of Damascus in the time of Mu'āwiya conceded that the Byzantine empire was embattled, but certainly not defeated. John bar Penkaye, writing during the second Arab civil war, and Anastasius of Sinai, writing in its aftermath, seem confident that Arab rule was on the wane.[64] And up until the reign of Walīd revolts continued to be launched in the east of Iran, and the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine passed in and out of Muslim hands.[65]

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[62]This would help to explain how the Muslims held on to their conquests (they appropriated existing power structures) and how Byzantine and Sasanian ideas reached them (mediated via Arab client states who had absorbed many such ideas in the preceding centuries). Note also that the Muslims took over the Arabic alphabet developed earlier by the Christian Arabs (see the discussion in Nau, *Les arabes chrétiens*, 95–99).

[63]Sebeos, XXXVIII (tr. Macler, 149), who says that they were about 15,000 soldiers and that "they believed in Christ and were baptised."

[64]See the entries on the *Trophies of Damascus* and "Anastasius of Sinai" in Chapter 3 and on "John bar Penkaye" in Chapter 5 above.

[65]See *EI*^{2}, *s.v.* "Nīzak, Ṭarkhān;" Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim–Byzantine Wars," esp. 203–204.

Sacred Direction in Islam

For the religious communities of the Middle East direction of prayer was of fundamental importance on the level of both identity and of belief. For the early Muslims it constituted the most manifest sign of allegiance to Islam. "He who prays as we do, taking our direction of prayer (*qibla*), and eats our sacrifices," so it was said, "he is a Muslim and under the protection of God and His Prophet."[66] And in our earliest texts the Muslim community as a whole is often designated by the term "people of the *qibla*."[67] Yet the Qur'an and early Muslim tradition are extremely vague about many of its aspects. For example, the Qur'an tells us that there was a change of *qibla*, but it does not specify when this occurred nor what the original direction of prayer was, and it simply describes the new direction as "towards the sacred place of worship" (ii.142–44).[68] Later commentators on these verses, though certain that the new *qibla* was to the Ka'ba in Mecca, were unsure whether its predecessor, Jerusalem, had been a permanent fixture or only a temporary deviation from the Ka'ba.[69] There is, of course, justification for saying that many questions that we might have were too obvious or irrelevant to early Muslims to require explanation, but that does not help us, and the situation has led to much loose speculation on the matter.

Frequent enlargements, embellishments and rebuilding have meant that, unfortunately, the structures of the earliest mosques do not sur-

[66]Bukhārī, 1.53 (*Ṣalāt* XXVIII); cf. Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 67: "'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz decreed that he who says our profession of faith, prays according to our *qibla* and becomes circumcised, then do not take from him the poll-tax."

[67]See, for example, Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Risāla fi l-ṣaḥāba*, §31; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 5.28, citing the letter of Abū Ḥanīfa to 'Uthmān al-Battī (*ahl al-qibla* used three times); Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, where the term is used twelve times (listed in index under *qibla*). These texts date to the mid-eighth century.

[68]Barthold, "Die Orientierung der ersten muhammedanischen Moscheen," argues that the first *qibla* of Islam was to the east, postulating that the object of Muḥammad's night journey (Qur'an xvii.1) was not Jerusalem, but a heavenly sanctuary in the east alluded to in Qur'an liii.13–15 (cf. Busse, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension," 23, 35, 37), and arguing that since the earliest mosques were entered by a door on the west side they must have faced east. See also Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, 4.

[69]See Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 216–17.

vive intact, and it is therefore to Muslim historical accounts that we must turn for information on their orientation.[70] The old Persian capital of Mada'in was where the general Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ first chose to settle his troops, and use was made of the Great Hall of the Royal Palace for prayer.[71] About two years later, in 638, Sa'd relocated to what was considered a more salubrious site, namely Kufa, and a whole new city was constructed. "The first thing to be marked out in Kufa and that was subsequently erected, when they had finally decided to make a start with the building, was the mosque:"

> When he (Sa'd) came to the place of the mosque, he ordered a man to shoot as far as he could an arrow in the direction of the *qibla* and he marked where it fell. Then he let loose another arrow in the direction of the north and marked where it fell; and he shot an arrow to the south and marked where it fell; and he shot an arrow to the east and marked where it fell.[72]

The object of the exercise was to define the limits of the public area, beyond which private dwellings might be built and within which the mosque, governor's quarters (*dār al-imāra*) and market place were to be located. "The whole square was meant for the people to congregate in, and in a way that they need not stand packed."[73] The description of the method of demarcation does imply that the *qibla* lay to the west. Sayf ibn 'Umar's account has the archer shoot to his right, left, straight ahead and behind, but his account of a robbery attempt upon the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*), which was kept inside the governor's residence, still points to a westerly *qibla*. To prevent further thefts, Sa'd had been advised: "Move the mosque and position it next to the (governor's) residence, and make the residence its *qibla*," so that those praying "will act as guards." Accordingly, Sa'd "placed the mosque facing the

[70]Helpful when using such accounts are Akbar, "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure of Early Muslim Towns," and Conrad, "The Early Arab Urban Foundations in Iraq and Egypt."

[71]Ṭabarī, 1.2443–44, 2451.

[72]Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276. On Kufa's founding see Djaït, *Al-Kūfa: naissance de la ville islamique*, esp. 65–69.

[73]This is clearer in Ṭabarī, 1.2488–89 (from Sayf ibn 'Umar).

treasure chambers, with the entire length of the governor's residence being situated to the right of that side of the mosque facing south."[74] It would seem, then, that the Muslims in Kufa were initially praying to the west.[75] If this is true, it nevertheless changed at some point during the Umayyad period, for of the three stages of the governor's residence distinguished during excavations, the second has its northern side contiguous with the mosque.[76] Assuming that the policy continued of maintaining the *qibla* wall of the mosque facing the governor's abode, the *qibla* must therefore have been towards the south. Perhaps there is a connection here with the situation that prevailed later in Samarkand, where the Ḥanafīs prayed due west and the Shāfi'īs faced south.[77]

The first mosque at Baṣra was initially no more than an open area marked out by reeds. Then, as Baṣra grew from an encampment to a city, a mosque and governor's residence were constructed using bricks and mortar. Nothing is mentioned about prayer direction beyond a note that "the governor, when he came to prayer, would make his way through them (those praying) to the front [walking] on a dividing wall (*ilā l-qibla 'alā ḥājir*). Deeming this inappropriate, the governor Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (665–73) moved the official residence to the *qibla* side of the mosque so that he could pass between the two via a door in

[74] *Ibid.*, 1.2491–92. I translate *al-qibla* as "south," because the governor's house is stated as being in front of the *qibla* wall, not to the right side of it. Since the direction of prayer in Iraq came to be roughly southwards (see further on in this entry) and in Syria always was so, the word *al-qibla* came to be associated with the south, and indeed, *qiblī* means "southern." Note that the Muslims were sometimes called by Christians "people of the south" (*ahl al-tayman*), which Griffith, "Muḥammad's Scripture and Message," 126–27, thinks was a reference to their *qibla*; though see Holmberg, "*Ahl/farīq at-tayman*," who suggests the epithet may rather be connected with apocalyptic prophecies about the south (cf. Bashear, "Yemen in Early Islam").

[75] According to Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §6, the same held for Khurasan and Transoxania: "When the righteous first generation conquered these lands, they made the *qibla*... at the setting point of [the sun in] the autumn," that is, due west.

[76] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 11. *Ibid.*, 14, says that two copper coins of the caliph Saffāḥ, dated AH 136/753–54, were found in the third layer, which gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the second layer.

[77] Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §9.

the *qibla* wall.[78] Again, we are given an anecdotal explanation of the interesting fact that from a very early time the mosque and governor's quarters were considered a single unit.

A new camp was also laid out in Egypt, named Fusṭaṭ, and again a mosque was erected as part of a congregational area shared by markets and the residence of the general, in this case 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. Our earliest account says:

> 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ built a mosque and around it there were gardens and vines. They hauled up the ropes until they had it (the structure) upright (*ḥattā istaqāma lahum*) and they applied themselves, and 'Amr remained present until they had fixed (*waḍa'ū*) the *qibla*. 'Amr and the Companions of the messenger of God were the ones who set it.[79]

Later versions confirm the participation of Companions in the orientation process, the number of them being anywhere between two and eighty. After hearing their views, 'Amr instructed the builders to turn the *qibla* to the east (*sharriqū al-qibla*), and indeed the *qibla* "was very much turned towards the east (*musharraqa jiddan*)."[80] So when 'Amr prayed, whether in his mosque or in a church, he did so to the east, to the Christian *qibla*, bar a little (*illā l-shay' al-yasīr/qalīlan*).[81]

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[78]Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 346–47. In keeping with a common human tendency to romanticise about the primitive, it is said that "the men of reeds were better than those of mud-bricks... and these were better than those of fired bricks" (Conrad, "Historical Evidence and the Archaeology of Early Islam," 266, citing Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar*, and giving discussion of this point), so one should be wary about this oft-stated progression from reed to mud to brick.

[79]Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 91–92 (from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama from Layth ibn Sa'd).

[80]Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 3.898–99, has "a little turned to the east," but Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2.247, and Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4.62, attest to the given reading.

[81]Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2.247. *Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 492, says that the Muslims pray in the direction of the south, turning east (*musharriqīn*) towards a place they call the Ka'ba. Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 173 n. 28, suggest that this may be a confused recollection that Muslims prayed to the east, and this receives some confirmation from the earlier recension *Hist. Patriarchs (Hamburg)*, 99, which states that they pray to the southeast (*yuṣallū qiblī sharqī*), but probably to be read as "towards the east" (*qibal al-sharq*).

In Syria and Palestine there were no new settlements founded in the first century of Islam,[82] and few, if any, new mosques. Very commonly Muslims made use of churches, which were then either converted or simply divided.[83] In Jerusalem a Muslim sanctuary was raised from the ruins of Herod's portico hall, the caliph 'Umar himself arriving to oversee the task. Allegedly, he consulted the Jew Ka'b al-Aḥbār concerning the *qibla*. The latter advocated placing it behind the rock of the Jewish Temple so as to align the *qibla*s of Moses and Muḥammad. 'Umar regarded this as too much of a concession to Judaism and chose to position the *qibla* in front of the rock.[84] But in either case the implication of the account is that a southern direction of prayer was adopted.[85] If the same principle obtained as at Kufa and Baṣra, that the *qibla* of the mosque faced the governor's residence, then this would give further confirmation, for there are a number of administrative buildings on the south side of the Temple Mount, including the "palace of the commander of the faithful."[86] Of mosques aligned to the north we have only the example of the mosque in Ṣan'a for this period. It is said to have been constructed on the order of the Prophet, but Walīd I considerably enlarged it, extending the northern side and installing there a decorative niche (*miḥrāb*), which makes clear that this was the *qibla* wall.[87]

Some scholars have concluded from these and other reports either that the *qibla* at this time was not towards Mecca,[88] or that it was only

[82]Whitcomb, "*Amṣār* in Syria?," suggests that the Muslims did, however, designate areas for their habitation both inside and outside existing cities.

[83]See Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 6; King, "Two Byzantine Churches in Northern Jordan and Their Re-Use in the Islamic Period." Similarly, in the eastern half of the empire, we find that Zoroastrian fire-temples and Sasanian palaces were requisitioned for ritual purposes (*EI* [2], *s.v.* "Masdjid," B3).

[84]Ṭabarī, 1.2408.

[85]Note how the most beautiful tie-beams of the octagonal arcade arches in the Dome of the Rock are in the centre of the south side, facing Mecca (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 29; Blair, "What is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?," 77). Raby, "Aqṣa and the Anastasis," maintains that the evidence from the earliest Aqṣa mosque (pre-Walīd I) is that its *qibla* was on the south side.

[86]See the entry on "Arculf" in Chapter 6 above.

[87]Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 83.

[88]Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 23–24, favour northwestern Arabia (also relying on the deviant *qiblas* of the mosques of Wasiṭ and Uskaf bani Junayd discussed

one of a number of *qiblas*.[89] Fortunately, we can call upon a seventh-century witness to help us, namely Jacob, bishop of Edessa (684–88), who was asked the question why the Jews pray facing south,[90] to which he gave the following reply:

> Your question is vain... for it is not to the south that the Jews pray, nor either do the Muslims (*mhaggrāyē*). The Jews who live in Egypt, and also the Muslims there, as I saw with my own eyes and will now set out for you, prayed to the east, and still do, both peoples—the Jews towards Jerusalem and the Muslims towards the Ka'ba. And those

below); Nevo and Koren, "The Origins of the Muslim Descriptions of the Jahili Meccan Sanctuary," suggest the Negev, pointing to certain "pagan" habitations there. One should note, however, that our earliest Muslim inscriptions are from the Mecca–Ṭa'if area (see Excursus F, nos. 5, 11, 14, 16, below), and there appears to have been much construction work there from an early date (see Kister, "Some Reports concerning Mecca;" 'Ali, "Muslim Estates in Hidjaz in the First Century A.H."), all of which would be inexplicable if Mecca was of little significance to the early Muslims.

[89]Sharon, "The Umayyads as *Ahl al-Bayt*," 129 ("The faces of the *mu'minūn* did not necessarily turn towards Mecca in prayer....Under the influence of Christianity, at least in Egypt and Syria, the early *mu'minūn* turned their faces to the east"); Bashear, "Qibla Musharriqa," 282 ("one cannot speak of one original *qibla* of Islam, but rather of several currents in the search for one"). Sharon, "The Birth of Islam in the Holy Land," 230–32, supports his claim with archaeological evidence in the form of an open rectangular structure located in the southern Negev, marked out by large slag pieces with a south-facing and an east-facing apse. The latter is better explained, however, as being part of "a symbolic early Christian church" (Rothenberg, *Timna*, 221–22, 196, photograph no. 121). Note that this is chiefly a Roman site, though Sharon reports finds of Umayyad pottery which, along with the southern apse, might indicate later use as a mosque. Bashear, "Qibla Musharriqa," points to the use of the term *musharraq* ("place facing sunrise") as a synonym of *muṣallā* ("prayer place")—but this is likely just a relic from pagan days (Juynboll, "Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrīk")—and to reports of Muslims praying in churches—but since the Muslims could not instantly erect mosques in every place they occupied, the use of existing sacred sites made sense and also demonstrated their religious pretensions.

[90]Note that this question also appears in two seventh-century Greek texts, the *Trophies of Damascus* and the *Questions to Antiochus Dux*; it was very likely provoked by reports of the Muslims in Syria also praying south, which caused Christians to wonder what was the significance of this prayer direction. This is discussed in the entry on "Anti-Jewish Polemicists" in Chapter 3 above.

> Jews who are to the south of Jerusalem pray to the north; and those in the land of Babel, in Ḥira and in Baṣra, pray to the west. And also the Muslims who are there pray to the west, towards the Ka'ba; and those who are to the south of the Ka'ba pray to the north, towards that place. So from all this that has been said, it is clear that it is not to the south that the Jews and Muslims here in the regions of Syria pray, but towards Jerusalem or the Ka'ba, the patriarchal places of their races.[91]

Jacob had studied in Alexandria as a youth and so would have been in a position to observe the Muslims there at first hand, which makes his testimony particularly valuable. His information about Syria is also likely to be accurate, for there were Muslims resident in Edessa while he was bishop of that town.[92] What he makes abundantly clear is that the intention of the Muslims was to direct themselves towards a specific site, which they called the Ka'ba.[93] This is presumably to be identified with the "House of God," "the locality in the south where their sanctuary

[91]Jacob of Edessa, *Letter to John the Stylite* no. 14, fol. 124a; summarised by Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.604, and translated by Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 173 n. 30. The latter leave the places in Babylonia untranslated, transliterating them as *nḥrt* and *bwṣrt*; I read this as Ḥira (*ḥet–yod* not *nun–ḥet*), and Baṣra (often spelt with a *waw* in Syriac, e.g. Michael the Syrian 11.XVII, 449/478); the *taw* conveys Arabic *tā' marbūṭa*). By Ḥira, Kufa is probably meant (see the entry on "George of Resh'aina" in Chapter 4 above). Possibly also of relevance here is Jacob's remark, made amid an attack on malpractices of Armenians, that the Arabs "make three genuflections to the south when they make a sacrifice" (*Tract against the Armenians*, fol. 193b [= Kayser, 4/35]).

[92]For example, Michael the Syrian 11.XVI, 448/476, mentions a tax-collector there, named Muḥammad, in the 690s.

[93]Cf. Qur'an ii.144, 149, 150: "Turn your face towards the sacred place of worship (*fa-walli wajhaka shaṭra l-masjidi l-ḥarām*), and wherever you are turn your faces towards it." The exact nature and location of this Ka'ba/Sacred Place of Worship (assuming they are to be identified with each other) are not, however, made clear either by Jacob or the Qur'an. The term "Ka'ba" may refer to the form of the structure (see Finster, "Zu der Neuauflage," 94–97); note that the Arab god Dusares, whose cult also centred around a black stone, was worshipped, says Epiphanius of Salimis (d. 403), together with his mother, the virginal *Kaabou* (see Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 192, and the literature cited there).

was," which is mentioned by Jacob's contemporary, John bar Penkaye, a resident of north Mesopotamia.[94]

In addition, Jacob implies that the Muslims initially prayed in the general direction of the Ka'ba rather than trying to be accurate. This is also the impression conveyed by the traditions on the foundation of the earliest non-Arabian mosques adduced above, and it would appear to have been the view of many Muslim authorities:

> Scholars disagree as to whether one who is distant from the Ka'ba is obliged to turn to face the Ka'ba itself or in its general direction (*istiqbāl al-'ayn aw istiqbāl al-jiha*). Some say: "His duty is to face the Ka'ba itself," but this is weak, for it is a commandment (*taklīf*) to which one cannot attain. Some say: "In the general direction," and this is correct.[95]

If we accept the hint given above in connection with 'Umar's mosque that the Muslims sought the advice of Jews, which would make sense since they both prayed to a specific place rather than in a cardinal direction like the Christians, then we would reach the same conclusion. The synagogue of Dura Europos on the Euphrates, for example, is aligned to the west, not to Jerusalem itself.[96]

Baṣra, Kufa and Fusṭaṭ were reconstructed in 665, 670 and 673 respectively along somewhat grander lines. But the most ambitious and visionary stage of the Muslim building program was undertaken by the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd. In every major city of the Muslim realm new mosques and palaces were erected and old ones refitted and restyled. In a number of mosques a niche (*miḥrāb*) was introduced, first at Medina in 707, then at Damascus, Ṣan'a and Fusṭaṭ.[97] Furthermore,

[94]John bar Penkaye, 155/183 (tr. Brock, 64).

[95]Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, 1.42–43.

[96]See Lambert, "La synagogue de Doura Europos et les origines de la mosquée," 68, and Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, 50–52, who also describes synagogues in northern Transjordania turned to the west and two by the Mediterranean turned to the east (but see Landsberger, "Sacred Direction in Synagogue and Church," 188–93, who argues that this is a consequence of the Tosefta ruling that synagogue gates should open towards the east).

[97]See *EI*^{2}, *s.v.* "Miḥrāb;" Whelan, "Origins of the *Miḥrāb Mujawwaf*." Baer, "The Mihrab in the Cave of the Dome of the Rock," shows that the so-called

changes were made in their alignments. Ḥajjāj's mosque at Wasiṭ, built in 703, is the first for which we have clear archaeological evidence, and this reveals that its *qibla* was not aligned to the west, like Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ's mosque at Kufa, but 39 degrees southwards from west.[98] On the orders of Walīd, Qurra ibn Sharīk pulled down 'Amr's mosque and rebuilt it more grandly, installing a *miḥrāb*, and "turned its *qibla* somewhat to the south."[99] The ninth-century writer Jāḥiẓ imputes nefarious intentions to the innovation:

> There arose 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and his son Walīd and their agent Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and his client Yazīd ibn Abī Muslim. They again demolished the House and attacked the sacred precinct of Medina. They pulled down the Ka'ba, violating what is inviolable, and instituted a deviant direction of prayer at Wasiṭ.[100]

But is it that advances in astronomical science meant that such errors in alignment were regarded as unacceptable by Jāḥiẓ's day, or is the latter suggesting that Ḥajjāj deliberately chose an orientation for his mosque other than Mecca?[101]

An indication of what may be happening here is given by the example of Samarkand, where the Ḥanafīs, who prayed due west, and the Shāfi'īs, who faced south, agreed on a *qibla* between the two for the

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miḥrāb Sulaymān, found in a cavern beneath the Dome of the Rock, is of the late tenth century, not by 'Abd al-Malik as Creswell had thought.

[98]Safar, *Wâsiṭ*, 20, 29 n. 8 ("The qibla of mosque I is 231 degrees from magnetic north"). It deviates from the true *qibla* by 33 degrees; almost the same degree of error is found in the late Umayyad mosque of Uskaf bani Junayd, near Baghdad (noted by Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 23; on its date see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 268).

[99]Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4.62 (*tayāmana bihā qalīlan*).

[100]Jāḥiẓ, *Risāla fī banī Umayya*, 296 (*ḥawwala qiblat Wāsiṭ*).

[101]Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 23–24, understand him to mean the latter, favouring northwest Arabia. But note that by Jāḥiẓ's day the error in Ḥajjāj's *qibla* would have stood out (Safar, *Wâsiṭ*, 29–30, 33–35, says it was only changed *ca.* AH 400); other early congregational mosques had mostly had their *qibla*s tuned, and later ones had been calculated more accurately in the first place. And of course, given the Abbasid demonisation of Ḥajjāj, Jāḥiẓ would not have given him the benefit of the doubt.

grand mosque of the city.[102] Otherwise, and more probable, Walīd may genuinely have been striving to impose greater accuracy of alignment towards Mecca, at least for congregational mosques. Certainly in Syria increased precision was achieved: the mosques at 'Amman,[103] Qaṣr al-Kharana, Jabal Says, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqi, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbi and Ruṣafat Hisham are all oriented towards Mecca with an error of 9 degrees or less, the deviation becoming smaller as time went on.[104] And the tribal mosques in the Negev and southern Jordan, some probably from the first half of the second century of Islam (*ca.* 720–70), all have an apse or a single large stone in their southern wall, indicating a southerly direction of prayer.[105] There is no doubt that other sites soon became important centres of worship, particularly Jerusalem, in which 'Abd al-Malik built sumptuously and possibly towards which he aligned his palaces.[106] But it seems that Mecca remained primary; it was "the House of God," declared Farazdaq in a poem addressed to 'Abd al-Malik in 694, whereas Jerusalem was simply the "honoured" (*musharraf*) house.[107]

The issue then may not be so much what the Muslims were directing themselves towards, as how they established what that direction was. Here one must differentiate between the calculation of the direction for congregational mosques and its estimation for individuals, private prayer places and so on. The latter was always likely to be inaccurate, whereas the former was likely to depend on the current state of astronomical science and its correct application. From the late eighth century onwards we find Muslim astronomers busily devising trigonometric and geometric solutions to the problem of determining the *qibla*

[102]Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §9. Note that the *qibla* at Wasiṭ, as also that at Uskaf bani Junayd, is aligned almost exactly to the southwest.

[103]Northedge, "The Umayyad Mosque of 'Amman," 148, observes that the Palestine Exploration Fund's survey, which had found the *qibla* of the mosque to be 20 degrees out, was using a north point incorrect by 11–12 degrees, so the error is only 8–9 degrees.

[104]Carlier, "Qastal al-Balqa'," 119, 134.

[105]Avni, "Early Mosques in the Negev Highlands;" Jobling, "Wadi Shireh," mentions a mosque with an inscription dated AH 107 nearby.

[106]Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques;" Carlier, "Qastal al-Balqa'."

[107]Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, 2.31–33.

for any given locality.[108] Before this, however, we are rather in the dark, for legal manuals on prayer tend to pass over this question:

> Most of the religious leaders of the first generations avoided thinking about the matter of the *qibla* and they were content to follow the opinion [of others]....They did this only because they did not have the means to know the *qibla*, since it can only be known by the science of arithmetic and they had no insight into calculation. So they followed the opinion of others because of their inability to find it by [means of legal] proofs.[109]

It is possible that Christian and Jewish scientists were employed. Mu'āwiya is said to have had astrologers at his court, and a table of historically significant eclipses relating to events in Islamic history ends with a lunar eclipse of 22 December 679, foreboding the death of Mu'āwiya.[110] One wonders, however, whether non-Muslims would have been used for this purpose; as the Qur'an says: "It is not for polytheists to build God's sanctuaries, ... only him who believes in God and the Last Day, and who has observed prayer, given alms and feared none but God" (ix.17–18).

Though legal texts nowhere discuss how the *qibla* of a mosque should be ascertained, they do give some consideration to the problem of how an individual with no astronomical equipment or scientific knowledge might determine in which direction to pray. There were two authoritative statements that were employed, particularly in the case of the traveller with no mosque nearby. The first was the Qur'anic phrase: "To God belongs the east and the west" (ii.115, ii.177), which was usually interpreted to mean that a directionless prayer was allowed when journeying by night or on a cloudy day. Suspension of the *qibla* was also admitted when riding, for "the messenger of God used to pray on

[108]See *EI* [2], *s.v.* "Ḳibla ii: Astronomical Aspects," for an overview and secondary literature.

[109]Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §3.

[110]Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, 67 (citing Baghdādī); Pingree, *Thousands of Abū Ma'shar*, 114–15.

his camel in whatever direction it placed him," though this concession later became confined to superogatory prayers.[111]

The second source was the influential early tradition, commonly attributed to the Prophet or to 'Umar, though also to other Companions: "What is between the east and the west is a *qibla*."[112] Its authority prompted many to seek the *qibla* on its basis, such as the following rather literal application:

> A man should look to the rising of the sun and to its setting at the equinox so that night and day are equal, and then draw a line from the east to the west. Then the people should pray towards that line, taking from the two directions but not turning to the east nor to the west.[113]

The same line of thought was followed by the Shāfi'ī scholars of Samarkand, who supplemented it with the Prophetic tradition: "Do not face toward or away from the *qibla* when relieving yourself, rather face east or west," in order to support their stance against the Ḥanafīs that one should face not west but south.[114] Perhaps originally developed in response to the Qur'anic admonition: "It is not right that you turn your faces to the east and to the west" (ii.177), this tradition became further clarified by the words "when one's face is turned towards the House (*idha tuwujjiha qibal al-bayt*),"[115] or qualified by the warning that this saying only sets the parameters within which one should strive to narrow down the direction further.[116]

The problem was that "the greater the distance involved, the greater the error in the *qibla*,"[117] and this led many scholars to grant considerable leeway regarding orientation as long as there had been intention (*nīya*) to pray correctly. Shāfi'ī, however, reacted against this

[111]Ibn Qutayba, *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur'ān*, 62; Muslim, 1.195 (*Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn wa-qaṣruhā* IV); Bukhārī, 1.54 (*Ṣalāt* XXXI).

[112]Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, 1.196 (*Qibla* IV); other references given by Wensinck, *Concordance*, 5.259 (*s.v.* "*Qibla*").

[113]Ibn Rushd (*al-jadd*), *Bayān*, 17.320, who says this method is totally wrong.

[114]Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §5.

[115]Wensinck, *Concordance*, 5.259 (*mā bayn al mashriq wa-l-maghrib qibla*).

[116]Bājī, *Muntaqā*, 1.340; Ibn Rushd (*al-jadd*), *Bayān*, 17.319–20, stresses that the *qibla* is to be sought in one of the four quadrants.

[117]Ibn Rushd (*al-jadd*), *Bayān*, 17.320.

approach, saying: "God did not permit them to pray in any direction they wished if the Sacred Mosque were out of sight." On the basis of the Qur'anic verses: "For it is He who has made for you the stars that you might be guided by them in the darkness of land and sea" (vi.97), and: "By landmarks and by the stars they are guided" (xvi.16), he argued that man was expected to find the direction of prayer by applying his reasoning powers (*ijtihād*) to such "landmarks." These might be: "The mountains, the nights and the days, which have winds of known names, though they blow fron different directions, and the sun and the moon and the stars, whose risings and settings and whose places in the firmament are known."[118] There are a number of indications that this was indeed practised. In the account of the founding of the mosque of Kufa cited above, the directions were given in terms of the winds (*fī mahabb*). The tenth-century scholar Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī lists "the finding of the *qibla* through the stars" as one of the acceptable parts of astronomy.[119] And stellar occurrences were often used to site events—the death of Muḥammad's son was fixed by a solar eclipse, the siege of Damascus by the setting of the Pleiades, and the allocation of *fay'* in Iraq was carried out upon the rising of Sirius[120]—so it is not improbable that they were used for other calculations too.

King argues that the Ka'ba itself was aligned in accordance with natural and astronomical phenomena. The early Muslims, he says, "knew that, when facing a particular wall or corner of the Ka'ba in Mecca, one was facing a particular solar or stellar rising or setting point; they assumed that, away from Mecca, if one faced in that same astronomical direction one would still be facing the same wall or corner of the Ka'ba."[121] The theory is ingenious, but it presumes knowledge among the early Muslims of the medieval theory that each side of the Ka'ba was associated with a specific region of the world. Likewise, the large amount of material in later sources describing how such natural phenomena as the winds are determined in relation to the Ka'ba derives only from a time when the Ka'ba was conceived as the centre of the

[118]Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 24.

[119]Cited by Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, 25.

[120]Bukhārī, 1.124 (*Kusūf* XV); Ṭabarī, 1.2152 (Damascus), 2486 (*fay'*).

[121]King, "Astronomical Alignments in Medieval Islamic Religious Architecture," 309–10; see also *idem*, "On the Orientation of the Ka'ba."

world and universe.[122] King also takes no account of the frequency with which the Ka'ba was demolished and rebuilt in earlier times and the stone itself moved, and he makes many conjectures, such as that "the mosque of 'Amr in Fusṭaṭ, the first mosque built in Egypt, is also aligned to face the winter sunrise."[123] In general, his theories are insightful and revealing of medieval times, but do not stand up when retrojected to the first two centuries of Islam.

In ascertaining the *qibla*, as with analogous issues such as times of prayer, it was recognised that one simply did the best one could with the tools at hand:

> The one who judges by approximation often errs, but despite this he may validly pray if he has no other evidence. The prayer of those who have no adequate evidence is permissable and likewise the prayer of those who follow them, but when someone has revealed their error with the correct evidence, they may no longer pray towards the [former] *qibla*.[124]

Early governors probably applied different principles according to their own views, many deeming prayer in the general direction of the Ka'ba as sufficient. From the time of 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd onwards there was a move to fix the *qibla* in the exact direction of the Ka'ba itself, at least in the case of imperial and congregational mosques, where astronomers could be employed. Local prayer places, however, mostly remained aligned in the general direction of the Ka'ba or according to some natural phenomenon. As Bīrūnī asserts: "Even the professional astronomers find the *qibla* problem difficult to solve, so you can imagine how difficult it is for non-astronomers," a comment echoed more tersely by his contemporary Naṣr ibn 'Abd Allāh: "Seeking this object (the *qibla*) by way of calculation is difficult."[125]

[122]Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, 157–58.

[123]King, "The Astronomy of the Mamluks," 79. He backs up the statement elsewhere by quoting a sixteenth-century source ("Architecture and Astronomy," 112), but as recently as 1401 "the whole *qibla* side of the mosque (of 'Amr) was demolished and rebuilt" (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 304).

[124]Bazdawī, *Risāla fī samt al-qibla*, §8.

[125]Bīrūnī is cited by King, "Al-Bazdawī on the Qibla," 24; Lorch, "Naṣr b. 'Abdallāh's Instrument for Finding the *Qibla*," 128.

The Conquest of Egypt

A number of sources suggest that the Byzantines paid, or at least proposed to pay, tribute to the Arabs for a number of years in order to stave off the conquest of Egypt. This was accepted by early historians of the late Roman empire, but was categorically rejected by Butler, who regarded it as a "perversion of truth," a "distorted image" and a "legend."[126] Butler's authority has meant that subsequent writers have either followed him or left the question open, and most have avoided the issue entirely.[127] However, the traditional view that this important province was ignored by all until the Muslims invaded it in 639–40 seems implausible. In particular, it is hard to believe that after the loss of Syria in 636 Heraclius would not have taken some steps to safeguard Egypt. The matter does, then, deserve consideration anew.

The Greek tradition's view of events is preserved for us only by Nicephorus:

> While Heraclius was dwelling in the eastern parts, he appointed John of Barkaina general of the army and sent him against the Saracens in Egypt. He joined battle with them and was himself killed. Likewise Marinus, commander of the Thracian contingents, engaged them in battle and was defeated; he lost many soldiers and himself barely escaped. In succession to him he (Heraclius) conferred command of the army on Marianus, who held the Roman rank of *cubicularius*, and dispatched him with instructions to consult with Cyrus, archpriest of Alexandria, that they might take joint action with regard to the Saracens. Now Cyrus had informed the emperor that he was going to conclude an agreement with Ambrus, phylarch of the Saracens, and [pay him] tribute which, he stated, he would raise by a commercial levy (*dia empolaiou syneisforas*) while the imperial

[126]Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 207–209 (citing Lebeau, Drapeyron, Milne and "the English historians from Gibbon to Bury"), 481–83.

[127]Fraser's revised edition of Butler adds nothing on this issue. New studies on the Arab conquests tend to omit discussion of Egypt; thus Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, and Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (though he alludes to the issue at 167), deal only with Syria and Iraq.

> taxes would not be affected. [He also recommended] that the Augusta Eudokia or another of the emperor's daughters should be offered in marriage (to Ambrus) with a view to his being consequently baptised in the holy bath and becoming a Christian; for Ambrus and his army had confidence in Cyrus and regarded him with great affection. But Heraclius would not brook any of this. Since Marianus, too, was aware of these matters, he rejected the policy of Cyrus and, having attacked the Saracens, fell in battle as did many of his soldiers... (Heraclius) recalled to Byzantium Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, and held him under severe accusation of having surrendered to the Saracens the affairs of all Egypt....[128]

The picture outlined by this narrative is eminently plausible. Gifts, marriage alliances and conversion had for centuries formed part of the diplomatic armoury for dealing with "barbarians," and it makes sense to assume that, since military methods had failed, the Muslims would have been approached in similar fashion. The detail about the raising of a commercial levy suggests genuine recollection of a debate on how to maintain payment of tribute. Moreover, Byzantine leaders are shown taking positive, if unsuccessful, action to secure Egypt as soon as it was realised that the Arabs posed a serious threat. Finally, it very likely derives from a Constantinopolitan chronicle written shortly after 641, and so constitutes our earliest witness to the last days of Byzantine Egypt.[129] Nevertheless, "no scholar today accepts the Nicephorus version."[130]

For the Coptic tradition of the conquest of Egypt we have to rely on the account in the *History of the Patriarchs*,[131] which is as follows:

> When Heraclius saw that (the loss of Syria), he assembled all his troops from Babylon to the borders of Aswan and for

[128]Nicephorus, §§23, 26 (tr. Mango, 71–73, 75).

[129]Thus Mango, *Nikephoros*, 14; see also the entry on "Nicephorus" in Chapter 10 above.

[130]Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 2.89.

[131]For the period before the full-scale Arab invasion of Egypt in 640 the chronicle of John of Nikiu is defective and so cannot help us here.

> three years he continued paying to the Muslims the tribute which he had asked to be settled upon himself and on all his troops—they used to call the sum stipulated *al-baqṭ*, that is, a poll-tax[132]—until he had paid to them most of his money. And many people died from the hardship which they endured.[133]

No reason is given for the subsequent decision of the Muslims to invade Egypt, though its juxtaposition to the note on Cyrus' hunting down of Benjamin suggests a connection in the author's mind. The Muslims' progress and success is briefly described, and it is observed that they "left alone the province and its inhabitants, but destroyed the people of the Romans and their general named Marianus."[134] Again we learn of an agreement to pay tribute made *ca.* 636–37, though involving Heraclius rather than Cyrus,[135] and of the defeat of the general Marianus. And there is even remembrance of the trials that its imposition occasioned. Moreover, the sources of this work consist of biographies of patriarchs which were often composed shortly after their subject's death, though they underwent at least some editing in the process of their later compilation.[136]

The Syriac tradition is likewise sparse, but we do at least have the account of the mid-eighth-century *Syriac Common Source* used by Theophanes, Agapius and and Dionysius of Tellmaḥre. The versions of

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[132] *Ayy annahu baqṭ ru'ūsihim*. One assumes the word to derive from Latin *pactum*; it is not part of Muslim fiscal terminology, though it does occur in a papyrus dealing with Nubian–Muslim relations, where it means "annual quota of humans" (Hinds and Sakkout, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt in 758," 210).

[133] *Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 493; the editor says the manuscripts have "eight years," but he amends to "three years" with no explanation. However, note that *Coptic Synaxary*, "8 Tūba," has "three years," and this is relying on the same *Life* of the patriarch Benjamin used by the *History of the Patriarchs*.

[134] *Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 494.

[135] These two may be cited as the ones ultimately but not immediately responsible. When summoned before Heraclius, Cyrus "accused others of having committed the misdeeds in question and alleged that he himself had made charges against them to no avail" (Nicephorus, §26 [tr. Mango, 75]).

[136] See the entry on the *History of the Patriarchs* in Chapter 10 above.

these three authors are so similar that it is possible to reconstruct a common core:[137]

> At that time 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ[138] marched to Egypt and entered it. Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, went out to meet him and agreed to give him every year 200,000 *dinars*[139] on the condition that the Arabs would not enter Egypt. 'Amr withdrew and did not enter Egypt. Egypt was saved for three years.[140] Then some people accused Cyrus before Heraclius of taking the gold of Egypt and giving it to the Arabs. Heraclius wrote deposing Cyrus and sent an Armenian named Manuel to govern the country. When, after a year had passed, the Arab envoys came as usual to Egypt to take the tribute, they found Manuel at Babylon with the Byzantine army. They entered his presence and asked for the gold, but he sent them back empty-handed saying: "I am not that Cyrus who used to give you gold. He did not wear armour, but a monk's tunic. I, however, am dressed in armour as you see. Go away and do not come here again." After the envoys had left and informed 'Amr of this, he invaded Egypt. Manuel was defeated and fled with a few men to Alexandria. The Arabs then took possession of Egypt. On hearing of this, Heraclius wrote to Cyrus to persuade the Arabs to withdraw from Egypt, if he could. Cyrus went to the camp of the Arabs and explained that he was not to blame for the breaking of the agreement. He beseeched

[137]The following represents the material common to Agapius, 471–74, Michael the Syrian 11.VII, 419/425, and Theophanes, 338–39 (with allowances for his compression of events). This does not exclude that one or more of the variations given by each chronicler belonged to the account of their common source. *Chron. 1234*, 1.251–53, also has this narrative, but blends it with an extract about the Coptic patriarch Benjamin drawn from Dionysius of Tellmaḥre's ecclesiastical history (found in Michael the Syrian 11.VIII, 422–23/432–33).

[138]Michael has 'Umar, confusing him with 'Amr; this is corrected in *Chron. 1234*, 1.252.

[139]De Boor's edition of Theophanes has the misprint 120,000 (see Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, AM 6126 n. 5).

[140]This comment is made by Agapius, 472, and Theophanes, 338, but not Michael.

> them eloquently to accept the gold, but 'Amr replied to him: "Now that we have taken the country, we will not abandon it."[141]

The style of this passage is rather anecdotal, but once more we have the story of Cyrus paying tribute to preserve Egypt and again it is placed immediately after the battle of Yarmuk. Butler takes the participation of Manuel to indicate that this incident is really that of 646, when the Byzantines under Manuel retook Alexandria.[142] Yet no element of the story, except for the presence of Manuel, would bear this out, and it seems simpler to assume that the mention of Manuel is a mistake or even—since in the above he lives to fight another day—that he features in both episodes. Possibly the Marianus of Nicephorus and the *History of the Patriarchs* is meant; in this case one would have to assume that he was killed, as these two assert, and that Nicephorus' account has been compressed, there being an interval of some years between the dispatch of John and Marinus and that of Marianus, with Cyrus' agreement in place in the meantime. Difficulties notwithstanding, it seems undeserved that "this version understandably is no longer accepted by anyone."[143]

In short, we have three early, independent sources which concur on the payment of tribute *ca.* 636–37 by the Byzantines to the Arabs with the aim of safeguarding Egypt. The policy makes sense and was indeed implemented elsewhere, as when John Kataias, governor of Osrhoene, "sought out 'Iyāḍ bar Ghanm at Qinnasrin and made a pact to give him 100,000 denarii a year for the whole of Mesopotamia, if the Arabs would stay on the west bank of the Euphrates."[144] Nevertheless, one finds no supporters for such a thesis. The above reports are all rejected since they contradict the seeming axiom that no Muslim presence could have existed in Egypt before its invasion, and because it is believed that no confirmation of such a reconstruction is found in

[141]This last paragraph is perhaps an anecdotal version of the more sober account of Cyrus' meeting with 'Amr in Babylon related by John of Nikiu, CXX.17–21 (tr. Charles, 193–94).

[142]Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 475–83.

[143]Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 2.214.

[144]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 637–38.

Muslim sources.[145] Even if the latter were true, argument from silence is insufficient, particularly as acceptance of a date of December 639 for the full-scale invasion in no way precludes diplomatic manoeuvres or military skirmishes having taken place beforehand.

In fact, one can discern in the Arabic sources traces of this version of events described by the Christian sources. In the first place, relations are portrayed as having been established almost as soon as the Arabs emerged from the peninsula:

> After the death of the messenger of God, Abū Bakr sent Ḥātib to the *Muqawqis* in Egypt and he passed by the region of the eastern villages. He made a truce with them and they gave to him [their word], and they remained in this until 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ entered it. Then they fought him and that treaty was broken. And this, said 'Abd al-Malik, was the first truce in Egypt.[146]

The messenger is presumably the same Ḥātib ibn Abī Balta'a said to have been sent by Muḥammad to "the *Muqawqis*, master of Alexandria," in 627.[147] This latter report seems misplaced,[148] probably as a result of a wish to explain the origin of the Prophet's Coptic wife (a gift from the *Muqawqis*), but it does help identify the *Muqawqis*, namely Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria. Abū Bakr's plan was possibly to make sure there would be no harassment from Egypt while he conducted attacks upon Syria. If there really was some contact with Cyrus, it may have been to obtain some sort of non-aggression pledge; if so, the figure of eight years given by the *History of the Patriarchs* would reflect the period 632–39.

That a Muslim presence existed in Egypt before its conquest had begun is intimated by the affair of "the Drought:" "Severe want afflicted the people of Medina during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the

[145]Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 208–209 (who sees it as "a mere blunder of the Greek historians"); Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 2.88–89.

[146]Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 53 (from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama from Ibn Lahī'a from Ḥārith ibn Yazīd from 'Ulayy ibn Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī).

[147]Ṭabarī, 1.1560; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 45–49.

[148]Other biographers of Muḥammad such as Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī do not mention it.

Year of the Drought (*sanat al-ramāda*), and he wrote to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ who was in Egypt...."[149] This misfortune is unanimously placed in "the latter part of year 17 and the beginning of 18" (638–39),[150] one year before the traditional date for the Arabs' entry into Egypt. And one scholar observes:

> Miṣr was conquered on Friday at the beginning of Muḥarram in the year 20, and it is said it was conquered in the year 26 and this is the saying of Wāqidī, and it is said that it was conquered along with Alexandria in the year 25. Most [scholars] agree that it was conquered before the Year of the Drought and the Drought was at the end of year 17 and the beginning of 18.[151]

At the root of this may lie a desire to give a reason or setting for 'Amr's decision to dredge the canal of Trajan, namely to enable supply ships to reach Medina quickly;[152] or it may have been assumed that 'Amr was included in the statement that "'Umar wrote to the commanders of the garrison cities requesting them to help the Medinans."[153] But it may rather reflect a misconception which has been perpetuated by Western historians, namely that the Arabs were either overrunning a province or they were not there at all, whereas quite clearly raids and skirmishes and even diplomatic manoeuvres preceded full-scale invasion. Theophanes reports that in the year 634 "an enormous multitude" of Saracens set out from Arabia and "made an expedition to the region of Damascus," but he describes a number of Arab–Byzantine confrontations that occurred in Syria before this. The same pattern is found in the Arabic sources, where Abū Bakr's dispatch of the main

[149]Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 162.

[150]Ṭabarī, 1.2574–77 (from Sayf ibn 'Umar); other references given by Caetani, *Chron.*, 207–208.

[151]Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1.294 (from al-Quḍā'ī).

[152]That is, the two incidents of the drought at Medina in 638 and the dredging of the Trajan canal, begun probably in 642 (John of Nikiu, CXX.31; see also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 162–68; Ṭabarī, 1.2577), became linked and telescoped.

[153]Ṭabarī, 1.2576.

body of the Muslims in April 634 is preceded by numerous smaller expeditions.[154]

Elements of the actual theme of Cyrus' pact are also found in the Arabic sources. There is, for example, the report that Cyrus (*al-Muqawqis*) concluded an agreement with 'Amr, a move which angered Heraclius and prompted him to dispatch troops to Egypt.[155] When such an understanding might have been reached is difficult to ascertain, since accounts of contact between the *Muqawqis* and 'Amr are rife: before, during or after the siege of Babylon (*ca.* September 640–April 641),[156] or before or during the siege of Alexandria (*ca.* June–November 641).[157] Much of this proliferation is probably a result of the application of the title *Muqawqis*, originally designating only Cyrus, to a variety of leaders.[158]

Butler has Cyrus approach 'Amr twice for the purposes of arranging a truce: one month after the start of the siege of Babylon and during the siege of Alexandria.[159] However, the description of both encounters follows such similar lines that one suspects we have two variants rather than two incidents, as indeed the Muslim sources tell us.[160] Both take place at the time of the Nile's flooding in late October. Both share the same narrative framework: Cyrus goes out to 'Amr suing for peace, a pact is made subject to the approval of the emperor; this is not forthcoming and Cyrus returns to 'Amr with three requests: that he not deal as generously with the Byzantines as with him since they had

[154]Theophanes, 337; cf. *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, §§12–13. De Goeje, *Mémoire*, 21–35, and Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 113, have problems with chronology since both assume no activity could have preceded the full invasion.

[155]See the next two footnotes for references to this report.

[156]Before: Ṭabarī, 1.2584–87. During: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 65–72 = Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1.288–93. After: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 214–15; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 3.894–95.

[157]Before: Ṭabarī, 1.2581–83. During: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 72–73 = Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1.163; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 215–16; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 5.118.

[158]Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 508–26 (Appendix C).

[159]*Ibid.*, 253–64, 319–21.

[160]The source used by Butler (*ibid.*, 255 n. 2) continues, with no change of transmitter: "And it is said that rather the *Muqawqis* made peace with 'Amr as the latter was besieging Alexandria...." (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 72 = Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1.293). *Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 494, has "the chiefs of the city" negotiate a peace treaty with 'Amr for Babylon.

distrusted him, that he respect the treaty vis-à-vis the Copts since they were not to blame for its violation, and that on his death he be buried in a church at Alexandria.[161] The difference lies in the padding, the Babylon siege version being heavily endowed with edifying and anecdotal material: how the Muslims were "a people who prefer death to life and humility to pride," how the Byzantines faced the conversion–*jizya*–fight ultimatum presented to them, and so on.

John of Nikiu has Cyrus go to Babylon only when it was already in Muslim hands, "seeking by the offer of tribute to procure peace from them and put a stop to war in the land of Egypt," "to save you and your children," as he tells the Alexandrians.[162] It would seem justifiable, then, to regard the meeting between 'Amr and Cyrus during the siege of Babylon as a fiction, a result of the misplacement of the genuine meeting that occurred towards the end of the siege of Alexandria.[163] In general, one must be very cautious when dealing with the subject of treaties, for it is intimately bound up with the jurists' dispute concerning rights to the conquest territories and their contents. In the account where Babylon is taken by force, "the Muslims considered it legal to take all that was in it;" where 'Amr signs a covenant, "women and children were neither to be sold nor taken captive, their possessions and treasures were to be kept in their hands."[164] Considering Egypt bereft of a treaty, the Umayyads say: "The inhabitants are no more than our slaves, whose taxes we can increase if we so desire and with whom we can deal as we want." Believing the converse, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ' client Wardān tells

[161]Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 475–80, says this incident of Cyrus asking 'Amr three favours belongs to Manuel's revolt in 646, yet it is an integral part of the narrative relating events during the Babylon siege.

[162]John of Nikiu, CXX.17, CXX.26 (tr. Charles, 193, 194). This visit must have taken place after 14 September 641, when Cyrus returned from Constantinople (*ibid.*, CXX.8 [192]), and before the end of November 641, since its results were reported to the emperor Heraclonas who died in that month (*ibid.*, CXX.22 [194]); see Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 536–41 (Appendix D).

[163]There nevertheless was an agreement made with 'Amr concerning the fortress of Babylon, but this was concluded by the troops that garrisoned it (John of Nikiu, CXVII.1–3), and this should be distinguished from the treaty arranged with 'Amr for the city of Miṣr by "the leaders of the city" (*Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 494; cf. John of Nikiu, CXIX.5).

[164]Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 213, 215.

Mu'āwiya: "How can I increase it (the Copts' poll-tax), when it is stated in their covenant that their tax should not be increased."[165]

When Cyrus met 'Amr in the time of Heraclonas, he had been sent expressly by that emperor "to make peace with the Muslims and check any further resistance against them,"[166] so the tale of Heraclius becoming angry and sending an army could not apply to this occasion. Though very much compressed, it patently resembles the account of the Syriac chronicler cited above. With the obstacle of total incompatibility with the Muslim tradition now removed, it seems worth testing the relevant sources to see whether they provide a plausible reconstruction of the Arab conquest of Egypt. To do this, we have to go back to *ca.* 630 when Heraclius was traversing the eastern provinces, reassuring all that the God-favoured empire of Rome still held sway. He sought to bolster morale, to foster religious unity, to reassert his authority, and presumably to assess the damage done to man and materials after a decade or so of Persian occupation. One decision of his is briefly alluded to: "When he took control of the land, he established governors in every place and he dispatched a governor called Cyrus to Egypt."[167] What might have been expected of these appointees is suggested by certain actions of Cyrus:

> He enters Egypt and undertakes many tasks....He constructs ditches and forts, and orders that the walls of the towns in the deserts and wastelands be rebuilt.[168]
>
> He blocked the entrances and exits to the region, building walls everywhere along the banks of the Nile. Owing to their height, only with difficulty were the Arabs able to enter and take the land of Egypt, the Thebaid and Africa.[169]

[165]Ṭabarī, 1.2584; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 217; further examples given by Hill, *Termination of Hostilities*, 34–42. The issue is discussed by Morimoto, "Muslim Controversies Regarding the Arab Conquest of Egypt," and Noth, "'*Ṣulḥ*'–'*anwa*'-Traditionen."

[166]John of Nikiu, CXX.17–22 (tr. Charles, 193–94).

[167]*Hist. Patriarchs* XIV, *PO* 1, 489; cf. Azdī, *Futūḥ*, 31: "He appointed commanders from his army over the cities of Syria."

[168]Ps.-Shenute, *Vision*, 340–41.

[169]*Chron. Khuzistan*, 37.

Such measures may have been implemented with Arab raids in mind, for the Byzantine authorities were aware at a very early date that the Arabs were taking advantage of the unprotected state of the empire's borders. In 626, writes Jacob of Edessa, "the Arabs began to carry out raids in the land of Palestine;"[170] and Nicephorus relates that "at about this time (*ca.* 629) the Saracens began to appear from Aithribos, as it is called, and attempted to lay waste neighbouring villages."[171] Theophanes notes under the year 630–31 that the Arabs employed to "guard the approaches to the desert," when denied their pay, "went over to their fellow tribesmen, and it was they that led them to the rich country of Gaza."[172] And Muslim sources describe raids in the same year around "the frontiers of the Balqa' and Darum," the latter signifying southern Palestine from the coast to the Dead Sea and south of Eleutheropolis/Bayt Jibrin, and so lying on Egypt's borders.[173]

At the trial of Maximus the Confessor in May 655 it was revealed by "John, who had been treasurer to Peter, the former general of Numidia," that: "Twenty-two years ago, the grandfather of the emperor asked the blessed Peter to take an army and to lead it into Egypt against the Saracens."[174] The minutes of the trial mention that the patriarch Pyrrhus (d. May–June 654) was already dead; a letter from

[170]Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 326. The entry is synchronised with year 301 of James reckoning (= AG 937), year 16 of Heraclius and 36 of Khusrau, which yields 626; it comes after a notice on the inauguration of the Arab kingdom (622) and before another on Khusrau's death (628). Note that AH 5/626 is the date of the Muslim attack on Dumat al-Jandal's ruler Ukaydir ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Kindī, who was "obedient to Heraclius, king of the Romans," and this was "the first of his (Muḥammad's) raids upon the Romans" (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 248; cf. Ibn Hishām, 668).

[171]Nicephorus, §18 (tr. Mango, 65–67); the notice comes after the death of Shiroi (628) and before the return of the Cross to Jerusalem (630). Note that Mu'ta was attacked by the Muslims in AH 8/629, and Ayla and Udhruḥ submitted to them in 9/630 (Tabarī, 1.1702). *Chron. Siirt* CI, *PO* 13, 601, states that "the Arabs began their conquests" in the eighteenth year of Heraclius (627–28) and the year in which the Persian emperor Ardashir reigned (628–29).

[172]Theophanes, 335–36 (tr. Mango, AM 6123); see Mayerson, "The First Muslim Attacks," for discussion of this report.

[173]Ibn Hishām, 970, 999; see Burrows, "Daroma," and *EI* [2], *s.v.* "Dārūm."

[174]Maximus, *Relatio motionis* §1, *PG* 90, 112A–B; the figure of "twenty-two years" suggests an attempt to be accurate.

Maximus to his disciple Anastasius tells how "yesterday, on the eighteenth of the month, it being holy Pentecost," the patriarch visited him and informed him of his probable sentence of anathematisation and death "unless you comply;" and the record of the dispute at Bizya shows that Maximus was in exile by 24 August 656.[175] Together these facts give us a date of early May 655 for the trial and *ca.* May 633 for Heraclius' request to Peter to go to Egypt's defence. One might be wary of such a notice since it comes as part of an accusation, namely that Maximus "handed over to the Saracens Egypt, Alexandria, the Pentapolis, Tripolis and Africa" by advising Peter not to go, "for God, in his design, did not wish to favour the empire of the Romans under the reign of Heraclius and his family." There is, however, evidence that Peter did journey from Numidia to Alexandria in the early summer of 633. A reply of Maximus to Peter, now in Alexandria, makes it clear that the latter had written telling Maximus of the safe conclusion of a sea voyage and requesting material for disputing with Monophysites. Maximus responds with a short treatise and a recommendation that Peter consult Sophronius, whom "you have there" and who is better able to answer such queries.[176] Sophronius was himself in Alexandria at the time of Cyrus' declaration of the Pact of Union in June 633, but went to petition Sergius in Constantinole soon afterwards. This dates Maximus' letter to late summer 633, which fits well with the chronology of Peter's itinerary. It is likely that Peter was instructed to proceed to Egypt in response to news about the Arab movements in eastern Egypt described above, but we have no information on his actions.[177]

As the Arabs entered in ever greater numbers into the Byzantine provinces, the government was forced to act. In order to buy time while making preparations, Heraclius first advised a policy of containment.

[175] *Ibid.* §13, *PG* 90, 128C (for the death date of Pyrrhus see Devréesse, "La vie de S. Maxime," 47–49); *Ep. ad Anastasium Monachum*, *PG* 90, 132A–C; *PG* 90, 137A. The Latin version of *Relatio motionis*, §7, mentions the apocrisaries of Pope Eugene, who acceded in August 654; see Sherwood, *Annotated Date List*, 21 and n. 94.

[176] Maximus, *Ep.* 13, *PG* 91, 509C (sea voyage), 533A (Sophronius).

[177] Maximus' letter no. 14, which mentions the Saracen marauders (see the entry on "Maximus the Confessor" in Chapter 3 above), is addressed to Peter, who was therefore still in Alexandria *ca.* 635; we do not hear of him again until 643, when he is back in Africa. See Sherwood, *Annotated Date List*, 7–8.

This recommendation is recorded by Nicephorus, excerpting from a Constantinopolitan chronicle of the 640s ("He ordered Theodore not to join battle with the Saracens"); by Sebeos, writing in Armenia in the 660s ("Heraclius told his troops not to deliver battle with the Arabs, but to be on the defensive until he had sent reinforcements"); by a mid-eighth-century Latin chronicler ("The Saracens... incite the neighbouring tribes....On hearing the report, Heraclius warned his brother that he should in no way fight with such people"); and by the *Syriac Common Source*:

> Heraclius wrote to Mesopotamia, Egypt and Armenia, to all the Romans who were found there: "Let no one engage the Arabs, but let he who is able to hold his post remain in it."[178]

The latter, however, places the emperor's decree after the Byzantine defeats at the battles of Ajnadayn and Yarmuk, and is followed in this by Arabic accounts:

> I recommend that you do not fight these people in open battle, but rather make treaties with them. For it is better for you to give them half the income of Syria while you yourselves keep the other half as well as the mountains of Anatolia.[179]

It is possible that Heraclius' defensive strategy was only adopted out of necessity, after heavy losses, but it must be borne in mind that Nicephorus' source is contemporary.

It seems agreed upon by most sources that the emperor assembled a considerable army to oppose the Arabs at Yarmuk, and that its defeat left them in considerable disarray. In the aftermath generals and local leaders made deals with the Arabs to preserve what they could. An example is the aforementioned John Kataias, who, after the Byzantine

[178]Nicephorus, §20 (tr. Mango, 69); Sebeos, XXX (tr. Macler, 96–97); *Chron. Byz.–Arab 741*, §12; *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 637–42.

[179]Ṭabarī, 1.2102 (from Sayf ibn 'Umar); though placed in year 13, it comes after Yarmuk. A variant is given at 1.1567–68, where it is dated to "when Heraclius wanted to go from Syria to Constantinople."

defeat at Yarmuk in AH 15/636, agreed to pay tribute to the Muslims on the condition that they stayed on the west bank of the Euphrates. This pact may well have stood for longer than the one year allowed by the Syriac chronicler who reports it, for the Muslims did not enter Mesopotamia until the summer of AH 18/639 and only subdued its cities in 19/640.[180] The pattern of events seems very similar to that which obtained in Egypt: unsuccessful military action led to the making of deals to minimise losses. And the invasion of the two provinces, too, happened under similar circumstances: two to three years after agreements had been made by Cyrus and John, these two civilian governors were replaced by the military commanders Marianus and Ptolemy.[181] They refused the Arabs their tribute and simultaneously a renewed Byzantine assault was launched: "Heraclius was making attacks on Egypt and Syria from the sea while he assailed the people of Ḥimṣ in person."[182]

This come-back "created a truly desperate situation for the Muslims" of which echoes are found in their apocalyptic literature.[183] Byzantine forces marched on Ḥimṣ from the west,[184] while the people of Mesopotamia and Qinnasrin reneged on their agreements and ap-

[180]Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 172 (= Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, 1.325), 176; Ṭabarī, 1.2505–11, 2578–79 (Sayf, as often, places events two years earlier in 638); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2.172. Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (in Michael the Syrian 11.VII, 420/426, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.256) gives confirmation: "In the year AG 951 (639–40)... the Arabs crossed the Euphrates."

[181]In Theophanes, 338, Cyrus is *aoplos*, but Manuel (Marianus?) *enoplos*. The *Life* of Samuel of Qalamun describes Cyrus as "archbishop and... controller of the revenues of the land of Egypt" (Amélineau, *Monuments*, 776). Another general despatched by Heraclius at this time was Gregory, whose job was to prevent the Arabs advancing beyond Callisura in Cilicia (Michael 11.VI, 415–16/422).

[182]Ṭabarī, 1.2594 (from Sayf ibn 'Umar); if one adds the customary two years, this notice dates to November 639. The Arabic sources often use *Hiraql* as a general title (Bashear, "The Mission of Diḥya al-Kalbī," 103–106), and it is likely that the general Valentinus is meant here rather than Heraclius himself.

[183]Ṭabarī, 1.2501 (the account of the attack on Ḥimṣ is at *ibid.*, 2498–2504); cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, 30–31. For the apocalyptic references see Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim–Byzantine Wars," 180–91.

[184]In Ibn Ḥubaysh's version of Ṭabarī (1.2501) this force arrives by sea, which is plausible since many coastal towns were not yet taken by the Muslims.

proached from the east. Dionysius of Tellmaḥre describes the strategy as follows:

> The Armenian David, a Byzantine general, marched from his country and another man named Valentian [went out] from the west, and they kept in touch with each other by envoys so that by a simultaneous attack from the west and from the east they might destroy in battle all the Arabs who were in Syria.[185]

The Muslims, however, noticed that "the Byzantines are busy regrouping themselves."[186] They initiated an invasion of Mesopotamia which sent its inhabitants scurrying back to defend their own cities, relieving pressure on Ḥimṣ. Some scholars think that this episode should be identified with the earlier capture of Ḥimṣ.[187] The description of the two sieges of Ḥimṣ—the first by the Muslims against the Byzantines, the second by the Byzantines against the Muslims—is, however, very different. Sayf ibn 'Umar's portrayal of the capitulation of Qinnasrin is certainly tainted by material from its later rebellion and the invasion of Mesopotamia, but this can be unravelled by comparison with other authors.[188]

Nicephorus explicitly says that "Cyrus had informed the emperor that he was going to conclude an agreement with Ambrus, phylarch of the Saracens." If true, it would appear that Heraclius knew of the treaties made to pay tribute in order to keep the Arabs out of Egypt and

[185] *Chron. 1234*, 1.257; cf. Michael the Syrian 11.X, 428/443. The general in the west was Valentinus (he later revolted against Constans); David the Armenian came from the east, but seems to have done more harm than good.

[186] Ṭabarī, 1.2572–73; cf. *Chron. 1234*, 1.257: "but the Arabs were forewarned."

[187] Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 6.86 (83–89 treat "Iad b. Ghanm in Mesopotamia"); Hill, *Termination of Hostilities*, 93–94. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 149–50, notes the reports without discussion; Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 3.84–86, and Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 178–79, are sceptical but unhelpful. Oddly, Donner and Kaegi cite only pages 25–29 of Ibn al-'Adīm's *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, whereas the come-back appears at 30–31.

[188] Ṭabarī, 1.2390–94 (first capture of Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrin); cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, 30–31 (first capture at 25–29) and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 2.75. For the other objection to Sayf's account, namely Iraqi bias, see Posner, "Whence the Muslim Conquest of Mesopotamia?"

Mesopotamia, and made use of the time to recruit more troops. When he was ready, he denounced the pacts as made without his consent, took the opportunity to depose civilian governors in favour of military commanders, and embarked upon a fresh assault. This certainly seems to be more in accord with what one would expect of a man who had overthrown the tyrannical emperor Phocas and waged an eighteen-year war, ultimately with success, against the Persians, rather than the traditional view of him waving goodbye to Syria in 636 and abandoning Egypt until 639.[189]

A final complication occurs regarding the fate of Cyrus. Nicephorus states that Martina's son Heraclonas reinstated Cyrus in his own see, and this is corroborated by John of Nikiu:

> Cyrus, the Chalcedonian patriarch in Alexandria, was excessively grieved when he heard of the exile of Martina and her sons, *who had brought him back from exile*....And for these reasons he wept unceasingly, for he feared lest he should suffer the same fate that had befallen him previously.[190]

But when was he banished? Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, sent to Cyrus at Alexandria a copy of the *Ekthesis*, "an exposition of the orthodox faith," in November 638.[191] And a papyrus contains a receipt written by the elders of a village for payment of supplies furnished by the inhabitants "according to the order of our lord Cyrus, most holy and God-honoured father, in the thirteenth indiction," that is, 639–

[189]Note that a treatise on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* was "completed by Severus Sebokht in the year 949 of the Greeks in the month of Ḥezīrān (June 638), in the year in which the king of Byzantium, that is, of Constantinople, came to Amida and from Amida went down to Babel" (Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge*, 2.886, from Add. 3284, fol. 41a). It is possible that this is a mistake for AG 939/628 (instead of *ṣmṭ* read *ṣ wa-lṭ*), but note that Heraclius is also said to have undertaken a census of the provinces in 638 (Kaegi, "A Neglected Census of Heraclius," citing Theodore Skutariotes' *Synopsis chronikē*).

[190]Nicephorus, §30 (tr. Mango, 81); John of Nikiu, CXX.66–67 (tr. Charles, 199).

[191]Grumel, *Les Regestes* 1.1, 117 (no. 291), and this is noted in Cyrus' reply to Sergius (*Concilia Sacra*, 10.1005).

40.[192] Cyrus remained, therefore, in his post at least until the end of 639.

Nicephorus appears to contradict this when, after noting the appointment of Pyrrhus as patriarch of Constantinople in December 638, he states:

> Some years previously he (Heraclius) had recalled to Byzantium Cyrus, the bishop of Alexandria, and held him under severe accusation of having surrendered to the Saracens the affairs of all Egypt. He pursued these charges at the time in front of a large gathering of citizens. But he (Cyrus) defended himself by saying that he was in no way guilty of these matters....But he (Heraclius) called Cyrus a pagan for having advised that the emperor's daughter should be betrothed to Ambrus, phylarch of the Saracens, a pagan, an enemy of God and an opponent of the Christians. Waxing incensed with him and threatening him with death, he handed him over to the prefect of the City for punishment.[193]

Yet one must bear in mind that Nicephorus, in the interests of style, omits almost all dates and substitutes vague, colourless temporal expressions such as "at about this time" and "after a short/considerable lapse of time." Events in the source from which he draws are often somewhat confused, but are generally narrated consecutively without flashbacks or anticipations. One should assume the same is the case here, ignoring the "some years previously" as an arbitrary intrusion on the part of Nicephorus. The above passage is placed between the appointment of Pyrrhus in December 638 and Heraclius' succession arrangements shortly before his death in February 641. Adding the papyrus evidence, we can see that Cyrus' exile must have occurred in 640. Since John of Nikiu nowhere mentions Cyrus in his description of the Arab conquest of Egypt until his return in September 641, it seems likely that Cyrus was exiled very early in 640, at the time when Heraclius dispatched a more military-minded man to handle the Muslim offensive.

[192]Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 1.222–23 (PLond. 113).

[193]Nicephorus, §26 (tr. Mango, 75–77).

CHAPTER 14

USING NON-MUSLIM SOURCES: AN ARGUMENTATIVE APPROACH

THROUGHOUT THIS BOOK I have striven to bring out the parallels and similarities between the reports of Muslim and non-Muslim witnesses. The reason for this approach is that it seems to me a strong argument in favour of the latter that they do frequently coincide with what is said by the former. If both the Muslim and non-Muslim sources give a false picture of events, how are we to explain that they both give the same false picture? Many of the non-Muslim sources are demonstrably early, so borrowing or later reworking could certainly not account for all cases of agreement. And as van Ess states, "we should expect that he ('an observer from outside') tried to describe the phenomenon (of Islam) with his own categories,"[1] so it cannot be that the concord is attributable to shared presuppositions. The answer must be either that they are giving independent testimony or, as is more common, that they are interdependent, but in which case the picture, whether false or not, is as old as the non-Muslim source presenting it. Hence if we concentrate on non-Muslim authors of the first 150 years AH, then we will obtain some impression of the Islamic community in that period, even if one chiefly conveyed by that community's own members.

To take a very simple example: both John bar Penkaye, writing *ca.* 687, and ninth-century Muslim historians say that the rebel Mukhtār

[1] Van Ess, "The Making of Islam," 998.

liberated and then employed in his armies the slaves of the Kufan Arabs. This conforms to no polemical or stereotypical formula, and on internal grounds one cannot argue that John's history was revised at a later date.[2] The only possible explanation is that John is recording what had reached him from Muslim informants, probably via their Christian slaves, and that Muslims preserved this account until the ninth century. And this is perhaps the most valuable aspect of the non-Muslim sources: not so much that they give independent testimony—though they often do that too—but that they can sometimes tell us what the Muslims were saying long before this was written down by the Muslims themselves.[3] If what the non-Muslims say the Muslims were saying in the seventh century agrees with what the Muslims wrote down in the ninth century, then it is likely that this is what the Muslims were saying from the beginning, or at least from the time of the relevant non-Muslim witness. And if they do not agree, then this should be investigated, for the very fact that there are so many instances of agreement means that discrepancies deserve our attention.

The implementation of such an approach has been greatly hampered by the fact that, despite their enormous diversity, the non-Muslim sources tend to be assessed *en masse* when it is a matter of their relevance for Islamic history. This is unhelpful; they are of value, but one must be discerning and first ask certain questions:[4]

What is the Source of the Observation?

In his review of Crone and Cook's *Hagarism* van Ess urged that "we should not forget that these texts, though contemporary, only show

[2]For this point and the references see the entry on "John bar Penkaye" in Chapter 5 above.

[3]Or rather, long before the earliest texts that have come down to us were penned (mostly in the ninth and tenth centuries); these may well, as indeed they often claim, be transmitting earlier written versions, though they are unlikely to have done so without at least some reworking. See the entry on "Redactional Identity" in Chapter 2 above for discussion of this point.

[4]In what follows references that have been given before will not be repeated; see then the relevant entry for the author in Part II above.

how the new phenomenon was seen, not how it actually was."[5] This blanket statement needs qualification. In particular, one must distinguish between different types of observation, for one would generally place more confidence in what someone said they saw or heard directly rather than in second or third-hand evidence. Jacob of Edessa's information on Muslims praying east in Egypt of the 660s comes from his "own eyes," and it seems impossible to deny that the Muslims were doing something recognisable as praying and this in an easterly direction (allowing some margin of error since Jacob had no compass).

Of the same unimpeachable character is the report of Arculf about the Arabs' "house of prayer" in Jerusalem of the 670s.[6] Sebeos' information on Muslim practices is second-hand; it comes from Muslims via escaped prisoners-of-war "who were eyewitnesses thereof and recounted it to us." Each item in his enumeration of Muḥammad's teachings—not eating carrion, not drinking wine, not lying, not fornicating—has parallels in various religious traditions, but as a whole it is not a formulaic list. And though abstention from fornication might be a favourite of monotheist preachers, it is not an obvious commandment for a Christian to impute to a prophet of the Arabs who were invariably regarded, both before and after Islam, as carnal and libidinous.[7]

Most commonly the material on Islam in the earliest non-Muslim sources derives from general hearsay: snippets of knowledge that percolated down from the Muslims to the non-Muslims who worked for

[5]Van Ess, "The Making of Islam," 998. Whether we can ever know things as they actually are is, of course, the first question of philosophy (Russell, *Problems of Philosophy*, 1–6), but I assume van Ess not to be adopting a Berkeleian stance.

[6]This does not mean that we should accept Arculf's report at face value, as have done a number of scholars who have consequently dismissed 'Umar's mosque as, in Creswell's words, "a mean structure." That it was constructed "in a crude manner" is a value judgement, but that it was rectangular and built with planks and large beams over ruins are descriptive facts (for further discussion see Raby, "Aqṣa and the Anastasis"). It is of course a common ploy to claim to be an eyewitness, thus adding weight to one's testimony, but in the case of Jacob and Arculf their claim is supported by the intimate detail and unstereotypical nature of their reports.

[7]The comment of Ammianus Marcellinus (14.IV.4, cited by Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," 105) that "it is unbelievable with what ardour they (the Saracens) give themselves up to intercourse" is echoed by numerous writers, usually in a more abusive vein.

them to their associates, which then went to make up the basic picture of the Muslims held by an average person who had no dealings with them, and which could be augmented by conjecture and combination with previous conceptions about Arabs. Thus the Nestorian chronicler of Khuzistan (wr. *ca.* 660s) has evidently heard that the Arabs have a sanctuary which has some connection with Abraham. Wanting to know more, he turns to Genesis and pieces extracts together until he has constructed an explanation that satisfies him. One finds further examples in the work of John bar Penkaye, who knows of the characterisation of the caliph Yazīd I, circulated by his opponents, as profligate and corrupt, and of the claim of the rival caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr to be a champion of the "House of God," and who can inform us about the Muslims' conception of Muḥammad. Other instances are found in the writings of his contemporary Anastasius of Sinai, who is aware of the Muslims' literal interpretation of Christ's humanity and of their sacrifices at the place where they "have their stone and their cult." These and many other examples give an indication of what the Muslims said and not just of how such sayings were regarded.

But what about later texts, such as disputations, that are likely to have their material from debate with Muslims and yet give only the Christian view of the matter? Another question needs to be posed:

What is the Character of the Observation?

Van Ess continues his review by saying: "We cannot demand that an observer from outside, who could even less evaluate the radical novelty of the event, should have had a clearer concept of what was really happening. We should rather expect that he tried to describe the phenomenon with his own categories."[8] This is undeniable, but again one must make a distinction, here between simple observations and totalising explanations/apologetic formulations. There is a world of difference between the report of Thomas the Presbyter that a battle

[8]Again there is a philosophical problem here, but as humans we tend to proceed on the basis that we are able to communicate information about reality to others using our own categories.

occurred between Arabs and Byzantines "on Friday 4 February at the ninth hour... twelve miles east of Gaza" and the common Christian statement that the Arabs are the tool of God's wrath or the vituperative rhetoric used by Sophronius and Maximus the Confessor against the invaders. When Arculf says that the Arabs have "a kind of church" in Damascus, he is of course using Christian vocabulary, but surely we can still infer from this that there was some sort of Muslim place of worship in the city. And when Anastasius of Sinai says that during his stay in Jerusalem *ca.* 660 he was woken up in the morning by Egyptian labourers clearing the Temple Mount, one might doubt his accompanying comment that demons collaborated in this task, but surely not the undertaking of the work itself.

It is, however, the totalising explanations and apologetic formulations that critics most have in mind when they attack the worth of non-Muslim sources, and they particularly mean apocalypses and disputations, which seek to schematise and refute Islam. But even with these, there is not grounds for outright dismissal. Wansbrough is right to say that the text of the conversation between the patriarch John and an Arab emir represents a Jacobite attempt to forestall Melkite advances to the new rulers of Syria, but did the author really need to discuss the Arabs' scriptural position in order to achieve this task? Apocalypses usually try to win credence for their prophetic visions by showing how they follow on from present events, and disputations seek to gain support for their position by caricaturing the beliefs of their antagonist or carefully presenting their weaknesses. In each case there is some anchor in reality, but it is true that one can only use such material for historical reconstruction with circumspection.

What is the Subject of the Observation?

Finally, one must make some distinction as to the content of the observation. As one would expect, the non-Muslim sources are at their most reliable when describing externally observable phenomena, particularly such actions of the Muslims as directly affected them (allowing, of course, for exaggeration). For example, they illustrate how numerous

were the prisoners-of-war taken by the Muslims and how extensively this affected non-Muslim society, both physically and mentally.[9] They reveal how preoccupied were the Muslims about matters of security and how suspicious they were that Christians might be conspiring with the Byzantines against them.[10] They record a number of caliphal decrees that are not found in Muslim sources, such as that 'Abd al-Malik ordered a slaughter of pigs in Syria and Mesopotamia,[11] that Walīd required magicians to be tried by ordeal,[12] that 'Umar II forbade consumption of wine and the testimony of a Christian against a Muslim and exempted converts to Islam from poll-tax,[13] that Yazīd II banned the display of images,[14] and that Mahdī prescribed the death penalty for converts to Islam who subsequently apostatised.[15] They also bear witness to Muslim hostility to the cross at a very early stage and to a

[9]That the Muslims took large numbers of captives in the first decades of their rule is suggested by Anastasius of Sinai, John bar Penkaye, ps.-Ephraem, ps.-Methodius and George the Black; the *Questions* of Anastasius reveal some of the problems this caused the Christians. On the Muslim side see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 50. There is also archaeological evidence in the form of two inscriptions from Cyprus which speak of the Arab attacks upon the island in 649 (year 7 of the indiction, year 365 of the era of Diocletian) and the following year. It is stated that "about 120,000 were led away as prisoners" in the first raid, and "an even greater number" in the second (Soloi, *Dix campagnes de fouilles*, 115–25).

[10]Note how Isaac of Rakoti, Theodotus of Amida, the sixty pilgrims in Jerusalem and Willibald among others were all arrested on the charge of abetting Islam's enemies. Evidence of the Muslims' nervousness about losing their newly won lands is also found in Arabic apocalyptic writings (see Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim–Byzantine Wars").

[11]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 693; *Chron. 819*, 14. Notices common to these two sources are likely to derive from a chronicle written *ca.* 728 (see Brooks, "Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers," 581).

[12]Michael the Syrian 11.XVII, 451/481.

[13]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 716–18. The latter ruling is found in Muslim sources, but it is interesting to find it confirmed in a mid-eighth-century source.

[14]*Ibid.*, *s.a.* 720; *Chron. 819*, 16; *Chron. Zuqnin*, 163. The one or two Muslim sources that do mention Yazīd's decree are likely to have it from Christians (to the meagre list compiled by Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II," 39, add Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād, *Fitan*, fol. 199a, who calls Yazīd a "corrupter of images"/*mughayyir al-ṣuwar*). Note the other decrees of Yazīd II listed by *Chron. Zuqnin*, 163–64.

[15]Elias of Damascus, *Passion*, 181 (= Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 52).

number of cultic practices performed by Muslims.[16] Also as one would expect, non-Muslim sources are at their least helpful—or at least one has to be at one's most wary—when they are commenting upon Muslim beliefs and intra-communal life. Between these two poles one must apply varying degrees of scepticism.

In addition, because their time of writing is often ascertainable and because they are often more informative than their Muslim counterparts about what was happening outside their own community, non-Muslim authors can frequently help us to understand the setting and gain the right perspective for various events and developments that took place in Muslim-ruled lands. One example is the background to Islam's genesis and maturation. Muslim literature presents this as a self-regulating process that needed no outside stimuli and consequently affords us no impression of the Late Antique civilisation which Islam slowly replaced. Another is the issue of inter-confessional relationships, for here again the Muslims—at least in their writings—exhibited little interest in the masses they conquered and employed to run their empire, seeing them all as inferior clients.[17]

* * *

Amid his literary assessment of the early Muslim tradition Wansbrough digresses briefly to consider the use of non-Muslim writings for

[16]For hostility to the cross see the entries on "Anastasius of Sinai," "Isaac of Rakoti" and the "Monk of Beth Ḥale" in Chapters 3, 4 and 11 above respectively; *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 641; Griffith, "Images, Islam and Christian Icons," 126–28. There was certainly not, however, a consistent policy of removing or defacing crosses (see Schick, *Christian Communities of Palestine*, 163–66). For cultic practices see the entry on "Islam in the First Century AH" in Chapter 13 above.

[17]More specific examples have been given throughout Part II above; another that is worth noting here concerns the battle of Ṣiffin during the first Arab civil war. The account of how the Syrians called for arbitration according to the Qur'an by placing exemplars on their spears is frequently rejected as apocryphal, but it should be borne in mind that the affixing upon a lance or spear of an authoritative document which one wished one's opponents to abide by seems to have been a common practice in the Middle East: e.g. Ṭabarī, 1.876, and Procopius, *Wars* 1.IV.9 (Peroz and the Hepthalites in 484), *ibid.*, 1.XIV.10 (Persian–Byzantine battle of Dara in 530); Michael the Syrian 10.XVI, 366/338 (Khusrau I and Tiberius II in the 570s); Theophanes, 366 (Justinian II and the Arabs in 692).

the reconstruction of Islamic history. He puts the problem succinctly and clearly:

> Can a vocabulary of motives be freely extrapolated from a discrete collection of literary stereotypes composed by alien and mostly hostile observers, and thereupon employed to describe, even interpret, not merely the overt behaviour but also the intellectual and spiritual development of helpless and mostly innocent actors?

His answer is negative:

> What they do not, and cannot, provide is an account of the "Islamic" community during the 150 years or so between the first Arab conquests and the appearance, with the *sīra-maghāzī* narratives, of the earliest Islamic literature.[18]

I would certainly agree that non-Muslim sources cannot provide a complete and coherent account of the history of Early Islam, even less can they support an alternative version of its development. But what I hope to have achieved in this book is to demonstrate that the testimony of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writers can be used alongside that of Muslim authors to furnish us with an enriched and expanded vision of the history of the Middle East in Early Islamic times, to offer us new perspectives on its character and to suggest to us new directions for its study.

[18]Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu*, 116–17, 119.

PART IV

EXCURSES

EXCURSUS A

THE CANONS AND RESOLUTIONS OF JACOB OF EDESSA

JACOB, BISHOP OF EDESSA (684–88), has left us a substantial corpus of his rulings on diverse matters, some unilateral (canons), most in answer to specific questions (resolutions). Though these writings are of great importance for religious and social history, they have been little studied and the manuscripts containing them remain mostly unedited.[1] The following is intended to illustrate what material there is and where it is to be found, drawing particular attention to three of the most extensive, yet most neglected witnesses: Ms. Harvard syr. 93 and Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 of the eighth century,[2] and Ms. Cambridge Add. 2023 of the thirteenth century.[3]

[1]Most were signalled by Vööbus, "New Cycles of Canons and Resolutions by Ja'qōb of Edessa."

[2]The contents of Harvard 93—formerly no. 85 in Harris' private collection—are listed in Harris, *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, 8–11; for the new reference see Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts*, 75–76. On Mardin 310 see Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.447–52. Ms. Mingana syr. 8 is a late copy of Mardin 310 made in 1906 (compare *ibid.*, 1B.449–52, with Mingana, *Catalogue*, 1.25–37).

[3]The Cambridge manuscript is described by Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge*, 2.600–628; the part relevant to Jacob is dealt with at *ibid.*, 2.623–26, and see also *idem*, *Notulae Syriacae*, 11–14. Note that the Harvard and Cambridge manuscripts present Jacob's writings in the same order (replies to questions of Addai, canons of Jacob, replies to further questions of Addai, replies to questions of Thomas, replies to questions of John the Stylite); thus also Mardin 310, except that it breaks off after the reply to the first question of Thomas.

Questions of Addai

A collection of 71 rulings of Jacob given in reply to questions put by the priest Addai are found in Ms. Paris syr. 62 of the ninth century; they have been edited by de Lagarde (*Reliquiae iuris*, 117–44) and by Lamy with a Latin translation (*Dissertatio de syrorum fide*, 98–171), and translated into German (Kayser, *Canones*, 11–33) and French (Nau, *Canons et résolutions*, 38–66). This collection is preserved in varying degrees by our three manuscripts. Harvard 93, fols. 1–16b, has all bar nos. 1–12; Mardin 310, fols. 178a–189b (= Mingana 8, fols. 215a–230a), has all bar nos. 1–5 and 37–49; Cambridge 2023, fols. 259a–275b, has nos. 1–7, 10, 12–19, 22, 24–26, 28, 30, 48, 31–36, 38, 40–45, 47, 49–58, 60, a new ruling,[4] 61–63, 65–71. Other partial versions, found in a number of manuscripts, are listed by Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.274–78.

Harvard 93 and Mardin 310 give two additional rulings in answer to the following questions:[5]

Q. 72: "[What do you say] concerning people of whom none know an incantation nor how to write or to read, and when they converse with one another and quarrel and become great enemies, then one of them will go and determine curses over the funereal urns of the martyrs and over the graves of lepers in the name of his enemy, and even under the altar of a sanctuary. He delivers him up there so that he (the enemy) will fall ill or will be injured or he will be afflicted by the Evil One. And [so what do you say] if he (the enemy) should become ill as a result of that or it happens that he falls ill or some evil befalls him?"

Q. 73: "Is it right for those who at one time took refuge in God and His saints and brought the blessings of the saints for [the

[4]This occupies fols. 272a–273a and concerns the singing of psalms for the deceased.

[5]Harvard 93, fols. 16b–18a; Mardin 310, fols. 190a–191a (= Mingana 8, fols. 230a–231a). As stated above, my aim in this excursus is simply to illustrate what material is available, not to provide a translation. I shall not, therefore, translate the answers to these two and subsequent questions, which are often lengthy, unless they contain information of direct relevance to Islamic history.

protection of] the fields or the vineyards because of the locust, the canker-worm, field-mice or any other scourge—[is it right] that they should [also] strive [by their own efforts] to drive away the locust or to kill the canker-worm or field-mice?"

Canons of Jacob

Harvard 93, fols. 18a–25a, presents 31 rulings of Jacob, apparently not given in reply to questions;[6] Mardin 310, fols. 191a–195b (= Mingana 8, fols. 231a–236a), has the same collection less one canon.[7] Cambridge 2023, fols. 275b–277b, has 14 of these canons: nos. 5–7, 11–13, 15, 18–21, 24, 26–27 of Harvard 93.[8] Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 269–72/245–47) gives 22 of these canons in abbreviated form and two new ones.[9] These canons are summarised and other manuscripts containing them listed by Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.203–207.

Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.212–14, signals and briefly describes another collection of 28 canons in the eighth-century Ms. Mardin Orth. 309, fols. 152a–157a. Others are to be found in Bar Hebraeus' *Nomocanon* (most are edited and translated in Kayser, *Canones*, 5–30/35–47; translated by Nau, *Canons et résolutions*, 69–117; summarised in Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.214–

[6]The collection comes after 73 questions of Addai to Jacob. The canons are numbered 74–103 in the manuscript instead of 74–104, because the scribe did not count the thirteenth canon (at the bottom of fol. 19b), probably because it lacks the usual *Ya'qōb* at the beginning. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.203, does not notice this and so states that the collection consists of 30 canons.

[7]Again the collection comes after 73 questions of Addai to Jacob. The canons are numbered 74–102 in the manuscript instead of 74–103, because the scribe numbered both the fifth and sixth canons "78" (*ḥ*). The nineteenth canon in Harvard 93 (fol. 21a)—against keeping the Jewish observance—is not to be found in Mardin 310.

[8]Or nos. 5–7, 11–13, 15, 18–20, 23, 25–26 of Mardin 310 plus one against keeping the Jewish observance. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.204 n. 17, wrongly states that Cambridge 2023 has thirteen canons.

[9]These correspond to nos. 1, 3–6, 8–20, 22–24, 30 of Harvard 93; and to nos. 1, 3–6, 8–19 (missing the canon against keeping the Jewish observance), 21–23, 29 of Mardin 310.

16), but most of these are simply abbreviated versions of the answers of Jacob to correspondents with the question omitted.[10]

Further Questions of Addai

Harvard 93, fols. 25a–33b, Mardin 310, fols. 195b–199a (= Mingana 8, fols. 236a–239b), and Cambridge 2023, fols. 277b–281a, present a second collection of rulings introduced by the title: "Other questions which the aforementioned priest Addai asked together with the replies to them." It consists of only seven rulings (nos. 74–80) in Mardin 310 and only five in Cambridge 2023 (nos. 74–76, 79–80), whereas Harvard 93 has 25 rulings (nos. 74–98) given in response to the following questions of Addai:[11]

Q. 74: "Is it right that orthodox people make remembrances and offerings for their heretical forefathers? And is it appropriate for a son of them (of the heretics), if he is a priest or monk and they have allowed him to be a monk for the orthodox, that he commemorate them (the heretical forefathers) over offerings and pray for them over the incense? In addition to these [questions] I want to learn whether there is any benefit to him from these (commemorations and offerings) for the person on whose behalf they take place, since he has departed from his heresy."

Q. 75: "Concerning a Christian woman who of her own free will marries a Muslim (*mhaggrāyā*), is it appropriate for priests to give her communion and is there known a canon regarding this? And if her husband threatens to kill the priest if he does not give communion to her, is it right for him to consent temporarily while he (the husband) is seeking that he (the priest) be killed,

[10]E.g. Jacob of Edessa, *Replies to Addai*, nos. 5, 17, 22, 75, 80, are found abridged in *Canons (BH)*, 38–39, 43, 36, 41, 42 and 112; *Replies to John*, A4, 7, 11, 13, 14, are found abridged in *Canons (BH)*, 112, 39, 39, 22 and 42, 14.

[11]See Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.281–86. Nos. 77 and 79–80 are also found in Ms. Sharf. Patr. 234 of the eighteenth century (Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.279 n. 61). Nos. 75, 77–78 and 80 also appear in abbreviated form without their question in Bar Hebraeus, *Nomocanon*, 41 (= Kayser, 13/39), 112 (= Kayser, 22/45; cf. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 95, no. 6), 42 (= Kayser, 13/39).

or is it a sin for him to consent? Or is it better that he give her communion lest she become a Muslim, since her husband is compassionate towards the Christians?"[12]

Q. 76: "Is it right for a deacon of the church or for a monastic brother that he kill any kind of animal at all, whether a stag or a deer or anything else which has been wounded by hunters, or any domesticated animal, a sheep or a bull, which is sick and near to death, when there is no layman at hand to prevent [the animal] from dying [of its own accord]?"

Q. 77: "Is it blameworthy for a deacon of the church that he throw a spear at a stag or a wild boar and mortally wound it, and afterwards that his fellow hunters catch up with it and kill it?"

Q. 78: "And also if a deacon takes a knife and puts one hand on the horn of a bull and wounds it with the other by a knife between its horns and it falls and he does not need a tether any more, but for his ease a butcher approaches and kills it. And that deacon does this trusting in the soundness of his strength. Is he also blameworthy because of this?"[13]

Q. 79: "A deacon of that time of hunger and want,[14] because he had nothing by which he might be nourished and there was no one to

[12]Jacob's reply is: "All these doubts of yours, you have resolved them [yourself] in that you have said it is appropriate that communion be given to her lest she become a Muslim; [just] so that she does not then become a Muslim—even if it be that the priest is sinning when he gives [it] to her and even if her husband is not making threats—it would be right to give her communion and it would not be a sin for him because he gives [it] to her. As for the other thing that you say, is a canon known regarding this, you should conduct yourself [according to what I have said] even if there is no fear of her apostatising and her husband is not making threats. So that other women fear lest they too stumble and for the rebuke of that particular woman, it is right, however much she supplicates those in authority, that she suffer under the canons whatever she is able to bear."

[13]The exact point of this question is elusive, but in general these last three questions are attempting to get round the problem that a deacon is not supposed to kill (in no. 76 understand that an animal cannot lawfully be eaten if it died of its own accord, so in this case it would go to waste).

[14]Note that a specific occasion seems to be intended (*zabnā haw d-kapnā wa-d-ḥasīrūtā*), perhaps the "unparalleled plague and famine" of AH 67/687 described by

offer him work with them, even for his bread, he went and joined some soldiers, and he (the deacon) bore arms too and he lived with them for all that year. And as soon as that difficult time had passed and it was a time for work, he went to crop his head and take up his former attire and to sit in the stillness of his soul. How is it appropriate to deal with him? Is it right that he serve in his former position or does a canon restrict his situation?"

Q. 80: "When our bishop of Mardin was attacked by those from the outside (*hānōn d-men l-bar*), the Arabs, who are ruling on the inside (*ṭayyāyē hānōn d-shallīṭīn men l-gaw*),[15] ordered that everyone go out to the wall to fight and did not exempt anyone from going out, not even the priests. Then a priest or a deacon, when the battle was in full swing (*'shen*), threw a stone from the wall and struck and killed one of the fighters attempting to scale the wall. How is it right to deal with him as regards the canons? And I want to learn whether it is a sin for him [alone] or [also] for other priests and monks inasmuch as it was not their wish to be pulling the rope of machines (*māngānīqōn*) of war and to be throwing stones and killing fighters outside. And is it right that they serve in the priesthood, and is it right for a short time that they be subject to the law?"[16]

Q. 81: "Is it known for a woman to be a wife in the resurrection?"

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the contemporary Bar Penkaye, 159–64/186–92 (tr. Brock, 67–71). Jacob's reply is sympathetic: "The fact that as soon as his situation eased he immediately fled from evil and hastened to his former position of indigence, shows that it was out of necessity that he did what he did...."

[15]These terms presumably intend Byzantines and Muslims respectively.

[16]Jacob's answer is: "The fact that they have been forced to go out against their will shows that they are free [of recrimination] from these things which have been committed. Thereafter it is in the hands of their bishop, that is, that he shall deal with them compassionately and allow them to serve when it seems proper to him. [Regarding] the matter of a priest who has thrown a stone from a wall and has killed while his own eyes looked upon the one killed, after a specific time when he is suspended from service for the sake of penitence, it is right that it is left to the conscience of the priest himself whether he shall serve or not. As for whether there is a sin or not, it is not right that this should fall under [the heading of] questions [to me], rather this should be handed over to the righteous Judge, who is not partial, for God is the discerner and examiner of all."

Q. 82: "What is it appropriate to do with one who offers the oblation like a priest when he has not been made a priest?"

Q. 83: "What is one to do with a priest who took the altar and its vessels from the Chalcedonians and then gave them back to them?"

Q. 84: "[What do you say] concerning the urn and basin and skin[17] which they use for baptism?"

Q. 85: "Is it appropriate to observe the law of the heretics?"

Q. 86: "[Concerning] a priest, *sā'ōrā* or abbot who is celebrating [mass], should another give them communion or may they take [it]?"

Q. 87: "Is it right for a deacon to proclaim (the litanies) when he has eaten (i.e. is not fasting)?"

Q. 88: "If a plague takes hold of a people, is it to do with the air of a place or the physical temperaments [of its people]?"

Q. 89: "Are those who are dead inscribed?"

Q. 90: "Concerning those who forbid their children from meeting up with other [children] and [from going] to church or to school, and those who confine them where there is no light so that no messenger may find them and as a result they die."

Q. 91: "Concerning those who proclaim in a time of plague that so and so is dying, and sometimes it is true and sometimes they are lying."

Q. 92: "Is the plague contagious?"[18]

[17]The manuscript clearly has *meshkā*; either some leather/hide accessory is meant or, as Sebastian Brock suggested to me, one might read *meshḥā* ("oil").

[18]Jacob's answer begins: "The plague is not contagious, and [you can] take for yourself a proof [of this] from those physicians who bandage the ulcers of [those afflicted with] the plague and [like] diseases and whose hands are besmattered with the blood and pus which issues from them, and [also take a proof] from those who

Q. 93: "What is [the meaning] of what was said to Moses and to Jesus: 'Undo the sandals from your feet'?"

Q. 94: "Is it right for monks to go out to a vigil or to a commemoration of saints or to a feast so that they keep a vigil there and sing? Is it right for them to receive baptisms (i.e. act as godparents) as is the custom for many?"

Q. 95: Regulations concerning godparents.

Q. 96: "Why do we prostrate before images?"[19]

Q. 97: "That upper room in which Christ ate passover and that foal on which he rode when he entered Jerusalem—whose were they?"

Q. 98: "Is it written that Christ was born in a cave?"

Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11, written "in the year AG 1515 which is according to the Arabs 500" (1204), contains 51 questions of Addai (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 258–69/235–44). Nos. 4, 5, 7 and 22–51 are the same as nos. 83, 85, 87, 1, 3, 5–7, 10–28, 31–34, 36 and 80 of the above questions of Addai,[20] but the other eighteen (nos. 1–3, 6, 8–21) are new and I number them as 99–116 in this book.

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take care of them in all this until their death [and yet do not themselves contract the plague]. Because it [happens] not by chance, [but] it is the action of God, according to the dispensation of Him who summons all men." This is very much in line with the Muslim position, which emphasises that God and not contagion is responsible for each person killed by a disease (see Conrad, "Epidemic Disease in Early Islamic Society," esp. 88–90).

[19]Jacob's answer is: "We prostrate before God with supreme devotion as our Lord and Maker. We prostrate before the cross as if we were seeing the Messiah upon it, and before the icons of the saints and their bones as ones who are servants of God and [who] then supplicate him and present to him petitions on our behalf. And before the leaders (*rīshānē*) of the world we prostrate, whether they are heretics or pagans, as if in honour according to the word of the apostles, but these prostrations are distinct from each other."

[20]There are numerous subtle changes in wording and in general Damascus Patr. 8/11 abbreviates the text of the original collection.

Questions of Thomas

Harvard 93, fols. 33b–37a, and Cambridge 2023, fols. 281a–285a, contain "questions which the priest[21] Thomas asked and the replies to them," namely three lengthy rulings (summarised by Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.296–97) which are also found, though differently phrased and abbreviated, in Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 256–58/234–35). Mardin 310, fol. 199a–b (= Mingana 8, fols. 239b–240a), gives the first, but then breaks off. Damascus Patr. 8/11 contains two further rulings of Jacob to Thomas which are given without the initial question (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 226–28/210–11).

Questions of John

Harvard 93, fols. 37a–44b, contains sixteen questions put to Jacob by John the Stylite of Litarb and the replies to them, which are given in the form of a letter from Jacob to John.[22] The letter is also preserved by Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 245–54/225–33), which, however, has seventeen questions; nos. 8 and 14 are new, but it omits no. 16 of Harvard 93. Cambridge 2023, fols. 285a–291a, has nos. 2–3, 5–8, 11–15 of Harvard 93 and no. 14 of Damascus Patr. 8/11 (so it has nos. 2–3, 5–7, 9, 12–17 of Damascus Patr. 8/11).

A second letter containing 27 replies of Jacob to questions of John is found in Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 233–45/215–25).[23]

The letter of Jacob to John in Ms. BL Add. 14,493 (ed./tr. Rignell, *Letter from Jacob of Edessa*, 46–69) is a tenth-century compilation: nos. 1–5, 10, 13 = nos. 4–7, 11–12, 14 of John's questions in Harvard 93 (nos. 4–7, 12–13, 16 of Damascus Patr. 8/11); nos. 7, 9, 11, 12, 15–17

[21]Some manuscripts containing the questions of Thomas describe him as a recluse (*habīshā*) instead of a priest (*qashīshā*); see Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1B.296–97.

[22]Fols. 37b–38a contain the preface of Jacob's letter; this same preface heads two other letters of Jacob to John found in Damascus Patr. 8/11 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 233–34/215–16) and Ms. BL Add. 14,493 (ed./tr. Rignell, *Letter from Jacob of Edessa*, 46–48/47–49). This collection of rulings is referred to as *Replies to John*, A1–16, in this book.

[23]This collection of rulings is referred to as *Replies to John*, B1–27, in this book.

= nos: 86, 12 (and the end of 14), 25, 61, 5, 96 and 22 of the above questions of Addai; no. 6 resembles a reply to Thomas in Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 227–28/210–11), and no. 14 = no. 1 of the questions of Addai found in Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. *ibid.*, 258/235–36).[24] Only no. 8 seems to be new ("If many gifts are brought to the church, how is it right to divide them and should they be offered up in batches or not?").

Questions of Abraham

Damascus Patr. 8/11 (ed./tr. Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 255–56/233–34) presents three questions from Abraham the recluse[25] and Jacob's replies to them.

[24]The question is only loosely similar, but the answer is exactly the same in both.

[25]Probably rather Abraham the priest to whom Jacob wrote a letter (Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.594 [no. 707h]).

EXCURSUS B

THE BYZANTINE–ARAB CHRONICLE OF 741 AND ITS EASTERN SOURCE

EVEN A VERY BRIEF PERUSAL of the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle of 741* and the *Hispanic Chronicle of 754* will reveal that, though considerable agreement exists between them, there are to be found numerous subtle differences in wording, and they both select and rework passages in accordance with their own wishes. This suggests that they are both drawing upon a common source rather than that either is borrowing from the other. This common source was clearly more extensive than either chronicle, since both at times abbreviate it substantially; it must also have been of eastern origin, since the material common to the two chronicles is almost wholly concerned with Byzantine and Arab affairs. The aim of this excursus is to facilitate investigation into the nature of this Eastern source. I have done this by giving a full translation of the *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle of 741*[1] —a worthwhile exercise in itself, since it has never yet been translated—and by indicating correspondences between it and the *Hispanic Chronicle of 754*.[2] The Latin

[1]The translation is based on the edition of Gil in *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, I; the paragraphing of Mommsen's edition (in *MGH*) is indicated where it differs from Gil's. I am extremely grateful to Professor J.N. Adams for making many valuable suggestions; any errors are, however, mine.

[2]Exact correspondence in wording (including different forms of the same word) is signalled by "=" before the reference and the relevant words in the text are in sans serif type; narration of the same event without verbal dependence is indicated

of the two texts is often obscure, but this seems to be due less to the linguistic (in)competence of the authors than to their desire to condense the common source, a process they often carry out to such extremes that the original sense is difficult to grasp.

§1. Reccared died having completed the 15th year of his reign.[3]

§2. Era 639[4] (601): After Reccared his son Liuva, born of a humble mother, was set over the Goths and remained in the rule for two[5] years.[6]

§3. Era 641 (603): Witteric claimed for himself for 7 years the rule that he had tyranically seized from Liuva, and because he lived by the sword he perished by the sword. For the death of the innocent Liuva, Reccared's son, did not go unavenged in him; indeed he (Witteric) was slain between the courses of a meal by his own men.[7]

§4. Era 642 (604): Phocas, 56th [emperor] of the Romans, was set in power in a tyrannical manner and he remained in it for 8 years. The Persians left their own homes and achieved successes against the Romans. Having driven back the Romans, they subjected Syria, Arabia and Egypt.[8]

§5. Era 648 (610): Gundemar was set in power over the Goths after Witteric for two years.[9]

§6. Era 649 (611): Heraclius was crowned emperor, 57th[10] of the Romans.[11] He had plotted a rebellion against Phocas from Africa out of

by "cf." before the reference. Dubler, "La crónica arábigo–bizantina de 741," 298–321, gives correspondences with other chronicles when the same event is narrated, even when there is not the slightest resemblance in the details of the two accounts. Although this approach has its merits, it can give a misleading impression, and I shall only give correspondences with other works (chiefly *Syriac CS*) when there is some similarity between their respective notices.

[3]Cf. Isidore of Seville, *History*, §56; Reccared I reigned 586–601.

[4]This is the Spanish era, which counts from 1 January 38 BC for reasons not altogether clear.

[5]Where I write a number in full, it is because it appears that way in the text.

[6]= Isidore of Seville, *History*, §57; Liuva II reigned 601–603.

[7]= Isidore of Seville, *History*, §58; Witteric reigned 603–10.

[8]Cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 610 (Persians).

[9]= Isidore of Seville, *History*, §59; Gundemar reigned 610–12.

[10]The text has LVI instead of LVII, but LVII is given in the next paragraph.

[11]*Chron. Hisp. 754* here gives the *annus mundi* (the number of years elapsed since the beginning of the world) and continues to do so for the first year of each

love for Flavia, the most noble virgin, who had been betrothed to him in Africa and deported from the land of Libya to Constantinople by order of the emperor Phocas. The aforesaid ruler (Heraclius), confronted by such an event, armed and gathered together troops from all the West, and waged a naval battle against the state with a thousand and more ships. He made Nicetas, the *magister militum* of the Romans, the leader of the assembled land army, and a pact was agreed between them that whoever of them arrived first at Constantinople, on him would be conferred administration of the whole empire.[12] And so Heraclius, setting out from Africa, reached the royal city more swiftly by sailing. He waged war on [Phocas], who put up considerable resistance, and so the Byzantines brought before Heraclius the captive Phocas for his throat to be cut.[13]

§7. {*MGH* §6} Heraclius was made emperor, the 57th of the Romans, by the senate after the killing of Phocas; he reigned for 30 years.

§8. {*MGH* §7} Nicetas, the *magister militum*, reached Egypt via the desert wilderness after much toil; he attacked with great courage and vigour and, with the Persians cut down in battle line,[14] he restored the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Judaea and Mesopotamia to imperial control in a magnificent fight.[15]

§9. {*MGH* §8} Era 650 (612). Sisebut was called to the royal dignity among the Goths; he reigned for 8 years.[16]

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emperor's reign. This chronicle also attempts to give synchronisms for a large number of entries, using the Spanish era, regnal years and the years of the Arabs. The regnal years of the Byzantine emperors are erratic, but the years of the Arabs are mostly accurate and so perhaps derive from the Eastern source used by the two chronicles. *Chron. Byz.–Arab 741*, however, omits almost all dates.

[12] *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §1, has instead: "(whoever of them arrived first at Constantinople) he would, having been crowned there, deservedly enjoy the rule" (*in loco coronatus digne frueretur imperio*).

[13] = *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §1; cf. Nicephorus, §1, and *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 610, which both mention that Nicetas went by land and Heraclius by sea, that they agreed upon the swifter of them becoming emperor and that Heraclius had a favourable journey.

[14] *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §2, has instead: "by keenly pursuing the Persians;" there seems to have been a confusion between the two meanings of *acies* ("keenness" and "battle line").

[15] = *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §2.

[16] = Isidore of Seville, *History*, §60; Sisebut reigned 612–21.

§10. {*MGH* §9} The people of the Persians, hastening forth from their abode, stir up again the provinces neighbouring upon them by sudden attacks.[17] The son of Khusrau, the king of the Persians, fled his father and offered himself to the Roman ruler, hoping that he would defend himself by the arms of Byzantium[18] and promising that he would hand over his father's kingdom to the emperor.[19]

§11. {*MGH* §10} Having assembled the forces of the state, Heraclius set off for Persia. Receiving news of this, Khusrau came out to meet [him] with all the army of the Persians and with immense hordes of auxiliaries of neighbouring peoples.[20] {*MGH* §11} Having routed and killed the forces of the Persians, Heraclius [went] as far as the city of Susa, which is the capital and centre of power of the Persians, then assailed and captured [it]. He destroyed the cities of all the regions, the villages and the towns, and reformulated the provinces under Roman rule. Having abolished Persian sovereignty and dismantled their rule, he returned in success and with great glory to New Rome.[21]

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[17]The latter part of this sentence (*iterum sibi vicinas provincias repentinis obreptionibus stimulant*) appears in *Chron. Hisp. 754* in slightly modified form (*iterum sibi vicinas provincias stimulant reformando*). One might translate: "They stir up again the provinces neighbouring upon them and restructure them (the provinces)," but the exact meaning is obscure.

[18]I.e. *Romania*, which I will render by "Byzantium" throughout this translation.

[19]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §2. This seems to be a misplaced reference to the seeking of peace from Heraclius by Shiroi, son of Khusrau II, in 628 (cf. Theophanes, 325–27).

[20]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §3, which goes on to give a lengthy account, omitted by our text, of a hand-to-hand combat between Heraclius and one of Khusrau's men.

[21]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §4 (= Pereira/Wolf, §5); cf. Nicephorus, §§12, 19, and Theophanes, 306–308, 327–28. *Chron. Hisp. 754* adds the following comment: "They say that many things concerning this event came to him in his dreams as a warning that he would be ravaged mercilessly by rats from the desert. He was also forewarned by an astrological omen through the course of the stars;" and continues (*ibid.*, §5 [§6]): "Heraclius, as we have said, subdued the rebellious Persians and restored the imperial lands through his fighting. Seduced, as they say, by the praises of his people, he heaped the honour of victory not on God but on himself, [but] grimly foreseeing no small rebuke [for himself] by means of a vision, he was frequently in terror." The ablative gerunds in this last sentence (*exaggerando*, *presagando*) should be treated as present participles, of which Heraclius must be the subject given the presence of the reflexive "on himself" (*sibi*). This seems to have confused Wolf, who made "his people" the subject of *exaggerando*, and made *presagando* a passive participle dependent upon *increpa-*

§12. In the seventh year of the aforesaid ruler (Heraclius) the Saracens, in rebellion and hostile to [the inhabitants] of the provinces of the Romans, by stealth rather than by open attacks, incite {the neighbouring tribes}.[22] Theodore, brother of the emperor Heraclius, fought[23] many battles against them. On hearing the report, Heraclius warned his brother that he should in no way fight with such people, for indeed he was experienced in the knowledge of the discipline of astrology and should anything happen by chance, he would know somehow.[24]

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tionem; given its position right before the verb (*expavit*), *crebrem* should probably be understood as a mistake for *crebre* rather than, as Wolf, in agreement with *visum*.

[22]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §7 (= Pereira/Wolf, §8). The words in curly brackets, *adiacentes civitates*, are given in the corresponding passage in *Chron. Hisp. 754* as the object of *stimulant* and seem neccesary to complete the sense (I translate *civitates* as "tribes," as it seems to me to fit best the sense). This sentence reads: *Sarraceni rebellantes Romanorum provinciarum infesti furtim magis quam publicis obreptionibus stimulant*. The original report has probably been more fully conveyed by *Chron. Hisp. 754* which has: *Sarraceni... Siriam, Arabiam et Mesopotamiam furtim magis quam virtute Mammet eorum ducatore rebellia adortante sibi vinciant atque non tantum publicis irruptionibus quantum clanculis incursationibus perseverando vicinas provincias vastant. Sicque quoquo modo, arte, fraude, virtute cunctas adiacentes imperii civitates stimulant et postmodum iugum a cervice excutientes aperte rebellant*. Wolf translates the first part as: "The Saracens rebelled... and appropriated for themselves Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, more through the trickery than the power of their leader Muḥammad;" but it seems better to take *Mammet* as ablative in agreement with *adortante* (understand *adhortante*) rather than as a genitive dependent on *virtute*. So the passage should be rendered: "The Saracens..., with Muḥammad their leader encouraging rebellion, appropriated for themselves Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia stealthily rather than by valour, and devastated the neighbouring provinces not so much by open attacks as by persisting in secret incursions. Thus also, by artifice and deceit rather than by valour, they incite all the neighbouring tribes of the empire and soon, throwing off the yoke from their necks, rebel openly."

[23]The text has *fudit*, meaning rout or scatter, but since the object here is *proelia* I have translated it as "fought." *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §8 (= Pereira/Wolf, §9), more sensibly, has *multis proeliis dimicante*.

[24]*Chron. Hisp. 754*, §8 (= Pereira/Wolf, §9), begins the same, but continues: "(Theodore) withdrew from combat to increase and consolidate his forces for war at the admonition of his brother, who was mindful of the prophecy of the rats." Heraclius' astrological prediction about the Arabs is recorded by a variety of sources (see the entry on "Fredegar" in Chapter 6 above).

§13. When a most numerous multitude of Saracens had gathered together, they invaded the provinces of Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia.[25] Above them, holding the leadership, was one Muḥammad (*Mahmet*) by name. Born of a most noble tribe of that people, he was a very prudent man and a foreseer of a good many future events.

§14. Era 659 (621). Suinthila deservedly received the sceptre of government over the kingdom of the Goths.[26]

§15. Heraclius sent forth [messengers] throughout all the provinces and islands of his realm [instructing] that however many Roman legions were stationed in various places in defence of the countries, they should make their way to Damascus, the capital of Syria, to fight off the enemy.[27]

§16. Theodore fought a battle with many thousands of Romans at the town of Gabatha, but panic and the force of the foe was in the Roman legions in such a way that scarcely a few were left from them who could bear the message [of their defeat]. Even Theodore, brother of the emperor, was killed in this struggle. The Saracens, informed of such a great and ruinous slaughter of noble Romans[28] and with fear of the Roman name removed,[29] took firm possession of the provinces which they had not long since[30] invaded, and located their rule at Damascus, the most splendid city of Syria.[31]

§17. Muḥammad, the aforesaid chief of the Saracens, having fulfilled ten years of his rule, reached the end of his life; [it is] he whom they to

[25]The same three provinces in the same order are named in *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §7 (= Pereira/Wolf, §8). Cf. Theophanes, 337: "In this year the Saracens—an enormous multitude of them—[setting out from] Arabia, made an expedition to the region of Damascus" (immediately before this Theophanes, like *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, had recounted the dealings with the Arabs of Heraclius' brother Theodore).

[26]= Isidore of Seville, *History*, §62; Suinthila reigned 621–31.

[27]Cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 635.

[28]The text is *certi de tanta nobilium Romanorum strage prostrata*, which seems to be a confusion of two expressions, namely *strages Romanorum* and *prosternere Romanos*.

[29]The expression (*excusso Romani nominis metu*) recurs in *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §9 (= Pereira/Wolf, §11), this time in full.

[30]The text has *dudum*, but the sense implies *non dudum*.

[31]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §8 (= Pereira/Wolf, §9); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 636, which makes it clear that Theodore Trithyrius, the imperial treasurer, is meant, not Heraclius' brother.

this day hold in such great honour and reverence that they affirm him to be the apostle and prophet of God in all their oaths and writings. In his place Abū Bakr (*Habubeccar*), who hailed from {the same tribe}[32] of the Saracens as his predecessor, was elected by them. He mobilised a very great expedition against the Persians which devastated cities and towns, and he seized quite a few of their fortifications.[33]

§18. Heraclius left the mortal world [struck down] by the disease dropsy.

§19. Abū Bakr, after holding the leadership over his men for almost three years, reached the end of his life. After his death 'Umar (*Hamer*) assumed the government of the kingdom of the Saracens for ten years.[34]

§20. Era 678 (640). Constantine, son of the Roman emperor Heraclius, assumed the rule as 58th [emperor] of the Romans in[side of] a year,[35] against the say of the senate.[36]

§21. 'Umar directed in a most skilful manner the troops of his nation of the Saracens to fight against almost all the nations of the East and West. Also he subjected Alexandria, the most ancient and prosperous city of Egypt, to the yoke of tribute, having cast out the garrisons of Romans abiding there. And the aforesaid 'Umar, leader of the Ishmaelites, ordered the establishment of the town of Babylon and of garrisons to watch over the Roman district which is still extant. While the chiefs of his army were carrying off the triumph of victory over all parts, namely of the East and the West, he was killed[37] while at prayer by a certain slave after completing ten years of his reign.[38]

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[32]These words (*de eius tribu*) are given in the corresponding passage in *Chron. Hisp. 754* and seem necessary here to complete the sense.

[33]*Chron. Hisp. 754*, §9 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§10–11), seems here to recap on the last two paragraphs; cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 636–37 and 639–42 (war on Persians).

[34]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §10 (= Pereira/Wolf, §12).

[35]The text simply has *an*; this Constantine reigned for just four months (Theophanes, 341; Nicephorus, §29, says "one hundred and three days"), so read *anno*.

[36]Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §17 (= Pereira/Wolf, §20).

[37]*Occisus est*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead "he was struck by the sword" (*verberatus est gladio*).

[38]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §10 (= Pereira/Wolf, §12); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 644 (death of 'Umar). *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §§11–16 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§13–19), deal with Spanish affairs.

§22. In his administration Constans, son of Constantine, assumed the reins of the state, 59th [emperor] of the Romans, upon the death of his father. He reigned for 27 years.[39]

§23. 'Uthmān (*Etheman*) assumed the leadership[40] of his people the Saracens and held the government for 12 years. This man united under the rule of the Saracens and subjected to their authority Libya, Marmorica and Pentapolis as well as Gazania and Ethiopia, which lie in the desert regions upriver from Egypt, and he made tributaries out of many cities of the Persians. After accomplishing these things, 'Uthmān was killed in an uprising of his own men.[41]

§24. But soon Mu'āwiya (*Moabia*)[42] obtained[43] his ('Uthmān's) seat and ruled for 25 years. However, for five of these years he waged civil war with his own [people], but indeed twenty he carried through with complete success, with the obedience of all the people of the Ishmaelites.[44] The emperor Constans, gathering together a thousand and more ships, contended unsuccessfully against him and with scarcely any [of them] escaped in flight. Many victories were achieved in the West by a general named 'Abd Allāh (*Habedella*) who had long since held leadership of a campaign [which he had been] ordered [to wage].[45] He came to Tripoli and advanced in war upon Cidamo and Lebida. After carrying out many desolations, he received in loyalty the conquered and devastated provinces, and he soon reached Africa still thirsty for blood. Therefore the confrontation was prepared, whereupon the battle line of the Moors turned in flight and all the nobility of Africa, along with count Gregory, was destroyed to the point of extinction. 'Abd Allāh, laden with vast booty, returned to Egypt with all his troops, Mu'āwiya then having completed the 10th year of his reign.[46]

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[39]Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §20 (= Pereira/Wolf, §24).

[40]*Principatum*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *administrationem*.

[41]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §18 (= Pereira/Wolf, §21).

[42]*Chron. Hisp. 754* writes both Moabia and Mauia.

[43]Literally "obtained by lot" (*sortitus est*).

[44]The construction here is an accusative absolute.

[45]*Imperati certaminis*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has "of an uncompleted campaign (*inperacti certaminis*)."

[46]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §22 (= Pereira/Wolf, §28). Although most of the words are identical in both chronicles for this paragraph, the order is often not so and there are also small differences in spelling (*Chron. Byz.-Arab 741* has Hismaelitae, Habdella, Aegyptus; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has Smahilitae, Abdella, Egiptus)

§25. The emperor Constans, who stirred up trouble throughout the state,[47] was done away with by a plot of his ministers at Syracuse, the famous city of Sicily, having completed 27 years of his reign.[48] Constantine, his elder son, then assumed the care of administering the command of the Romans.[49]

§26. {*MGH* §25} Hearing at Syracuse that his father had been killed in a revolt of his own men, Constantine was crowned as 60th emperor of the Romans, reigning for [15] years.[50]

§27. {*MGH* §26} Mu'āwiya, king of the Saracens, despatched[51] a hundred thousand men to war against[52] Constantinople; they were to serve under his son Yazīd (*Yzit*) to whom he had also decreed his kingdom. This [city] they surrounded with a siege through all the spring time until they could no longer bear the pain of hunger and pestilence, and abandoning the city they captured many towns and, after two years, returned bringing greetings and laden with plunder to Damascus and the king, by whom they had been despatched. When Mu'āwiya had completed 20 years

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and in choice of words (*741* has *rates*, *754* has *lembes*; *741* has *per fugam evasit*, *754* has *aufugens lapsus evasit*). The references here are to the naval battle between the Arabs and Byzantines (cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 654), and to the campaigns in Africa of 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, governor of Egypt (648–56).

[47]This is a very free translation of *rem publicam fomitibus praecurrebat* (read *percurrebat*), literally "he ran through the state with fires." Theophanes, 351, says Constans was hated by the Byzantines for killing his brother, exiling pope Martin, cutting off the tongue and hand of Maximus the Confessor and persecuting many of the orthodox.

[48]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §20 (= Pereira/Wolf, §24), which adds two notices about Constans, namely that "he fought fiercely in a naval battle with the Arabs" and "during his reign, after the sun had darkened at midday, the sky brought forth stars." The former must refer to the skirmish of 654 (see previous passage), the latter probably refers to the eclipse of 644 (cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 644).

[49]Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §24 (= Pereira/Wolf, §30); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 668.

[50]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §24 (= Pereira/Wolf, §30); *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741* has abbreviated this notice to the point of incomprehensibility. *Chron. Hisp. 754* has: "Hearing at Syracuse that his father had been killed in a revolt of his own men, he headed for the palace with [as large] a fleet as he could [muster] and ascended the throne in glorious triumph."

[51]*Direxit*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *tradidit*.

[52]*Debellandum*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *pergendum*.

of his leadership and lived as a citizen [a further] 5, he paid his debt to human nature (i.e. he died).[53]

§28. {*MGH* §27} When he died, the son Yazīd took his place for 3 years; [He was] a most pleasant man and deemed highly agreeable by all the peoples subject to his rule. He never, as is the wont of men, sought glory for himself because of his royal rank, but lived as a citizen along with all the common people. Few or no victories were achieved in his times in the armies sent forth by him.[54]

§29. {*MGH* §27} After three years he ended his life and reign and left behind as successor to him his son[55] Mu'āwiya, who was similar to his father in habits. When he had attained to the pinnacle of power he remitted a third of the tribute in money to all the provinces of his rule. He, before remaining in power half a year, departed from this light.[56]

§30. {*MGH* §28} Justinian was appointed to rule by the senate, the 61st [emperor] of the Romans. He reigned 10 years before his first deposal and [a further] 10 years after regaining the rule.[57]

§31. {*MGH* §29} With the death of Mu'āwiya the younger the armies of all the provinces chose two rulers for themselves, one by name 'Abd Allāh (*Abdella*) and the other called Marwān (*Maroan*); it is a descendant of this latter's son who holds their leadership up till now in our times.[58] But before an interval of almost two years [had passed]

[53]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §23 (= Pereira/Wolf, §29). This was chiefly a naval campaign (cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 674–78); *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741* or its source may have expanded/confused this account with details from the assault on Constantinople under Sulaymān. Wolf translates the adverb *civiliter* in the final sentence as "in civil war;" this certainly fits the context, but it is odd that in the very next paragraph the adverb recurs, here with the expected sense of "as a citizen." Probably the author simply means that Mu'āwiya, though usually assigned a reign of 25 years, was not officially king for five of them.

[54]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §25 (= Pereira/Wolf, §31); the latter omits the final sentence, which is rather odd given that it is usually more hostile to Islam than *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*.

[55]*Filius*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *proles*.

[56]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §26 (= Pereira/Wolf, §32).

[57]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §32 (= Pereira/Wolf, §39).

[58]This would seem to imply that the author is writing while the Marwanids are still in power (685–750), unless the reference is to the fact that Spain was governed by their descendants (the first was 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām

'Abd Allāh was elected ruler with the consent of all and Marwān was expelled in odium from the territory of Medina (*Almidina*) by 'Abd Allāh himself together with all his children and relatives and was ordered into exile at Damascus. But after a limited passage of time, with the consent of a good many from the army, he (Marwān) was carried forward to power with God turning a blind eye (*coniuente*). Waging countless great battles against each other through a second year without a break, an innumerable multitude of men fell from each army in their mutual battles conducted amongst themselves. Since he perceived his troops to be weakened more and more by fighting so much successively, Marwān, king of one side, sent envoys and requested beseechingly from Constantine Augustus that a peace be granted to him. A peace of 9 years was granted to him on these conditions: that the king of the Saracens release to their own lands unharmed the captives and deserters found in all the provinces of the Saracens and pay to the Roman emperor the quantity[59] of one thousand gold *solidi* of proven weight, one girl, one hairy Arab mule [and] a silk [garment][60] daily without interruption for 9 years in succession.[61] Before he died, Marwān distributed the provinces of the Ishmaelites amongst his sons: that is, he left the regions of Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Osrhoene, Arabia and Syria to 'Abd al-Malik (*Habdelmele*), the firstborn, for his rule; Egypt including the parts of remote Ethiopia, of Tripoli and of Africa as far as the Gaditan straits adjoining those provinces he left to his son 'Abd al-'Azīz (*Habdellaziz*); the armies of the land and marine divisions he granted to his son Muḥammad so that, once the nine-year period of peace[62] had expired, he might devote himself to expeditions against Byzantium and all neighbouring peoples. So having accomplished all with diligence and prudence and ended one year of fighting, he repaid his debt to human nature

ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, ruled 755–88), though the text does say *illorum principatum*.

[59]The text has *quantite*; read *quantitatem* (object of *proferret*).

[60]The text has *mulam Arabicam villosam siriciam unam*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has *mula Arabica cum lecti sericia vestiaria*.

[61]*Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 685, gives the terms as 1000 gold pieces, one horse and one slave to be paid every day for ten years.

[62]The text has *pace*; read *pacis*.

and, as he himself had ordered, left his elder son 'Abd al-Malik as successor.[63]

§32. {*MGH* §30} With Justinian deposed for tyranny Leontius was crowned in power, the 62nd [emperor] of the Romans. He reigned for 3 years.[64]

§33. {*MGH* §31} After him Apsimarus was appointed 63rd [emperor] of the Romans in that way.[65] He reigned for 8 years.

§34. {*MGH* §32} 'Abd al-Malik achieved the apex of royal power and ruled for 20 years. In the first year of his reign, applying all his experience and the courage of his mind against 'Abd Allāh, whom his father had attacked many times in various battles, [he came] finally to Mecca, the home of Abraham as they think, which lies between Ur of the Chaldees and the city of Ḥarran (*Carras*) in the desert. When a clash was initiated, king 'Abd Allāh was killed by the general of the army, *Tahihis* by name, appointed by the king 'Abd al-Malik, and the head of the aforementioned king 'Abd Allāh was cut off and presented to 'Abd al-Malik, the son of king Marwān, by the army general *Aiais* in Damascus.[66] So in the sixth year of the aforesaid ruler, after the internal struggles had been settled everywhere round about, he very wisely turned upon the territory of external enemies, for he had made tributary to his authority the provinces, cities, estates, towns and forts of many peoples. And his brother ('Abd al-'Azīz), already mentioned above[67]—to whom his father had handed over power from the borders of Egypt to the Gaditan straits and given orders that he be successor to the rule after him ('Abd al-Malik)—was cut off by a fatal accident. He ('Abd al-Malik), nevertheless, settled the rule on his own

[63]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §27 (= Pereira/Wolf, §33). Enough is the same to make it likely that the two chronicles are still relying on their common source, but *Chron. Hisp. 754* massively abbreviates it here.

[64]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §35 (= Pereira/Wolf, §42).

[65]Meaning that Apsimarus, like Leontius, came to power by a coup. Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §38 (= Pereira/Wolf, §46); the notice is too short to establish borrowing.

[66]Both *Tahihis* and *Aiais* must be attempts to convey Ḥajjāj, perhaps distorted by the local pronunciation of "j." Cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 692; Ṭabarī, 2.829–30; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5.357. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, 5.166, confirms that it was Ḥajjāj who despatched the rebel's head to the caliph in Damascus.

[67]This seems to be the sense, but the text has "sent on ahead above (*supra praemissum*)."

sons, [which meant] it had to be conferred three times (*ter contradendum*).[68] He handed over to Walīd (*Hulit*), his firstborn son, the rule of his people after himself; also he ordered his (Walīd's) brother, Sulaymān (*Zoleiman*) by name, to follow him (Walīd). Thus he arranged for his sons a suitable settlement, as he had learned from his father, and, having completed the [last] year of his reign, free from care he departed from this light.[69]

§35. {*MGH* §33} Justinian returned to Constantinople aided by a powerful force of Khazars, settling back in his own rule, and he overcame those who not long since[70] had been tyrannising him.[71]

§36. {*MGH* §34} Walīd succeeded to power, [taking up] the sceptre of rule of the Saracens in accordance with what his father had arranged. He reigned for 9 years. [He was] a man of great prudence in arranging his armies, to the extent that though destitute of divine favour, he crushed the strength of almost all the neighbouring peoples adjoining him. He debilitated Byzantium in particular with constant raiding, brought the islands to the point of destruction and tamed the land of India by raids.[72] In the western regions, through a general of his army by the name of Mūsā, he attacked and conquered the kingdom of the Goths established at Spain with ancient solidity, and having cast out[73] their rule he imposed tribute.[74] So, waging all things successfully, he (Walīd) gave an end to his life in the

[68]First 'Abd al-'Azīz had been expected to be 'Abd al-Malik's successor, but upon his death 'Abd al-Malik named his sons Walīd and Sulaymān (see Ṭabarī, 2.1164–71), so all in all the rule was "conferred three times."

[69]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §28 (= Pereira/Wolf, §34). *Ibid.*, §§29–31, 34, 37, 39 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§35–38, 41, 44–45, 47–48) concern the Goths; *ibid.*, §§33, 36 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§40, 43) give very brief notices about 'Abd al-Malik: "'Abd al-Malik retained the peak of dignity, having already been ruling for four years," "'Abd al-Malik completed the thirteenth, 14th and 15th year of his rule."

[70]The text has *dudum*, but the sense implies *non dudum* (cf. §16).

[71]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §40 (= Pereira/Wolf, §49); cf. Nicephorus, §42, and Theophanes, 372–73 (Justinian returns to power with help of Khazars). The construction here is an accusative absolute.

[72]*Chron. Hisp. 754* adds: "He brought cities to utter destitution, knocked out fortresses by siege and, from the winding paths in Libya, subjugated all of Mauritania."

[73]*Regno abiecto*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *regno ablato*.

[74]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §42 (= Pereira/Wolf, §51). *Ibid.*, §§43–49 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§52–57) deals with the Arab conquest of Spain, which the author deplores (e.g. §45

ninth year of his rule, having already seen[75] the riches of all the peoples displayed to him.[76]

§37. {*MGH* §35} Justinian having been killed by a sedition roused [against him], the tyrant Philip seized the rule [and became] 64th [emperor] of the Romans. After him Anastasius was crowned 65th. Then Artemius, also [known as] Theodosius, was appointed to rule, the 66th. These completed five years, ruling amidst civil war.[77]

§38. Among the Arabs, after the death of Walīd, Sulaymān, his brother by blood, was in power according to the arrangement of their father; he reigned for 3 years. This man, the scourge of Byzantium, sent his brother, Maslama (*Mazalema*) by name, born of a different mother,[78] to destroy Byzantium, one hundred thousand armed men having been gathered together with him.[79] On soon reaching the land of Asia, he arrived at Pergamum, the most ancient and prosperous city of Asia, attacked[80] it in battle, deceived it by a ploy and put an end to it by fire and sword, and advised that the survivors be distributed to his army. From there

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[§55]: "Even if every limb were transformed into a tongue, human nature would be utterly unable to express the ruin of Spain and its many and great evils").

[75]Literally "having foreseen" (*praevisis*), but that doesn't seem to be quite what is meant here.

[76]The two phrases in this sentence appear in *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §49 (= Pereira/Wolf, §57), but in a very different context: "Walīd, the *amir almuminin*, a regnal term which means in their language 'waging all things successfully,' having already seen the riches of all the peoples and after the rewards of Spain had been displayed to him together with the beauty of its girls and [yet] the considerable repute [of Mūsā] being deemed little in his eyes, judged that he (Mūsā) should be punished by torture unto death. By the entreaties on his behalf of leaders and powerful men, whom Mūsā had offered many gifts from those abundant riches, Walīd [agreed to] fine him two million *solidi* in number, then he reached the end of his life and left this world."

[77]Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §§52–54 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§60, 63, 66); the expressions *Artemius qui et Theodosius* and *civiliter* common to both suggest that the two chronicles are still sharing a source, but the notice is too short to be certain.

[78]The text has *non dissimili matre*; read *non de simile matre*, unless this is a reference to her status (Maslama was born of a slave-girl; see *EI* [2], *s.v.*).

[79]This must be the meaning of *lectis cum eo centum milia armatorum*, but the agreement is wrong (one expects *milibus*).

[80]*Impetitam*; *Chron. Hisp. 754* has instead *impeditam* which, together with its substantial abbreviation of this paragraph and transfer of the destruction of Pergamum to a later paragraph, makes its entry somewhat garbled.

he hurried on to the royal city[81] and surrounded it with a siege for two years, but after making no progress and perceiving himself to be more endangered than endangering and constrained by hunger, the sword and a comprehensive want, he returned to his own provinces at the order of the new ruler, having had little success. After completing almost three years, the aforenamed ruler Sulaymān died while staying in the province of Antioch.[82]

§39. {*MGH* §37} While the Saracens were advancing on the royal city to attack it, Leo, 67th [emperor] of the Romans, who was skilled in the art of war, assumed the sceptre for 24 years with the senate of the state approving.[83]

§40. {*MGH* §38} On the point of dying, Sulaymān left as successor to the rule of the Saracens the son, 'Umar (*Amer/Hamer*) by name, of the paternal uncle to whom their grandfather had given authority from Egypt in its entirety to the west. He reigned for 3 years. And after him he (Sulaymān) placed in [line to] the rule his brother Yazīd (*Yzit*). In military matters 'Umar achieved no great success nor anything adverse, but he was of such great kindness and compassion that to this day as much honour and praise is bestowed on him by all, even foreigners, as ever has been offered to anyone in his lifetime holding the reins of power.[84] He withdrew very near to the place in which Sulaymān had died.[85]

§41. {*MGH* §39} Yazīd, succeeding in the rule of the Saracens, reigned for 3 years. The armies of his people, who were to maintain

[81] *Chron. Hisp. 754* has "Constantinople."

[82] = *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §50 (= Pereira/Wolf, §58); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 716–18. Pergamum features in *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §52 (§61), which reads: "The Arabs fiercely ravaged Byzantium and burned down Pergamum, that most ancient and flourishing city of Asia, with avenging fire."

[83] = *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §58 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§71–72), which locates this notice in Hishām's reign.

[84] 'Umar II's "kindness and compassion" is remarked upon by Syriac chronicles. *Chron. 819*, 15, and *Chron. 846*, 234, have: "He was a kind man and a more compassionate king than all the kings before him" (thus also Lewond, XV [Arzoumanian, 106]); though in *Chron. 1234*, 1.307, this is given as: "He was a kind man and compassionate, loving truth and justice and avoiding evil, but he persecuted the Christians more than the kings before him."

[85] = *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §§53, 58, 55 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§72, 67), which seems to have cut up a notice on 'Umar, while *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741* has abbreviated it.

the defence among the Persians, plotted[86] a revolt and prepared a civil war against him. A Saracen named Yazīd, who did not originate from that royal tribe, [was] the font of this wickedness and provided counsels among them and remained over them. Informed about the rebellion, Yazīd the king dispatched an expedition against them with his brother [whom we] mentioned some time before, Maslama by name, born of a different mother. When both armies clashed in the Babylonian plain above the Tigris river, the aforementioned Yazīd, leader of the rebellion, was killed by the army of Yazīd the king. Thus his army was crushed as they slipped into flight so that, with hardly any escaping, they congratulated themselves that they had retained the breath in their bodies, their life spared by Maslama, the commander of the army. He (Yazīd) also achieved many successes against Byzantium. Further, in the western regions he in part achieved successes through the generals of the army.[87]

§42. {*MGH* §40} Also he made Narbonnian Gaul his own through the leader of the army, Maslama by name, and harassed the people of the Franks with frequent battles. With inconsistent valour the general of the army, already mentioned, reached as far as Toulouse, surrounded it with a siege and strove to overwhelm it with slings and other types of machines. Informed of this news, the peoples of the Franks gathered together under the leader of this same people, Eudes by name. So having assembled they reached Toulouse. At Toulouse each battle line of the armies clashed in a great struggle. They killed Samḥ (*Zema*), the leader of the army of the Saracens, together with a part of his army, and they pursued the rest of the army as it slipped away in flight.[88]

§43. So Yazīd, king of the Saracens, his fourth year played out, departed from this light, leaving the rule to his brother, Hishām (*Hesciam*)

[86]The text has *moliti*, apparently qualifying *exercita*; either the author has mistaken the gender or intended *exercitus*.

[87]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §§56–57 (= Pereira/Wolf, §§68–69); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 720. The rebel is Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab (see *EI* [2], *s.v.*), whose defeat by Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik at al-'Aqr of Babel is narrated at length by Ṭabarī, 2.1395–1405.

[88]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §57 (= Pereira/Wolf, §69). It is not clear whether this notice belongs to the common Eastern source or whether it derives from a source on Spanish affairs which the two chronicles share, but which the author of the *Chron. Byz.–Arab 741*—since his aim is to write an eastern history—only uses in so far as it conforms to that aim (so here it fits in with an account of the successes of Yazīd).

by name; and after his brother he approved that the one born of his own seed, Walīd (*Hulit*) by name, should rule.[89]

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The *Byzantine–Arab Chronicle of 741* stops here with the death of Yazīd in 724, but the *Hispanic Chronicle of 754* continues to report on events in the East until 750. Either the latter text made use of a second eastern source for the period 724–50 or, far more likely, the common source of the two chronicles went up to 750. This receives some confirmation from the fact that in §39 above it is noted that Leo III reigned for 24 years (717–41), suggesting that the author was writing after 741 and had information at least up to that date.[90] Therefore, I give the remaining notices on eastern affairs to be found in the *Hispanic Chronicle of 754*:

This Hishām (*Iscam*), at the beginning of his power—in the era 761 (723), almost already in the fifth [year] of the rule of the aforementioned Leo, the one hundred and sixth of the Arabs (724)[91]—exhibiting sufficient moderation,[92] achieved several successes through the commanders of the army sent by him against Asia Minor by land and sea. In the western regions he accomplished almost nothing of note. Then, seized with greed, a greater collection of money was made in East and West through the generals sent by him than had ever been gathered at any time among the kings who were before him. Discerning that there remained in him a perverse cupidity, substantial groups of peoples turned against[93] his authority. For three, almost four years civil war was waged with considerable slaughter so that he was scarcely able to restore the

[89]= *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §62 (= Pereira/Wolf, §76).

[90]But perhaps little further; see n. 58 above.

[91]These synchronisms and datings appear throughout *Chron. Hisp. 754*, but do not feature in *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*. Interestingly, the Arab dates are generally correct throughout—perhaps they were in the original Eastern source—whereas the regnal years of the emperors are somewhat erratic.

[92]The text has *modestam*; read *modestiam*.

[93]Literally "separated their minds from."

lost provinces to his power.[94] ... Therefore Hishām, overcome by unjust rage, gave unrestricted rein to his cupidity and all the peoples under his power immediately launched into civil war. And all that vast desert, in which the Arabic multitude themselves have their origin, was thrown into great disorder, [its people] not tolerating the impiety of the judges.[95]

In the era 781 (743), in the 23rd year of the rule of Leo, 125 of the Arabs (743), Walīd the Fair (*Alulit pulcher*), commander of the faithful (*amir almuminim*),[96] was raised by all upon the throne in the required place. It remained his for a year and three quarters, whereupon the kingdom was snatched away by Yazīd (*Izit*) without delay.[97]

When the era 782 (744) had ended and the third[98] was already beginning, Constantine, son of Leo, was crowned in the rule after his father as 68th [emperor] of the Romans, reigning for very many years, there having passed 5,954 years from the beginning of the world until the expiry of the tenth year of Constantine. When he was crowned in his father's rule, his father having just concluded his last day, he learned that his rule was about to be seized by Artabasdus, to whom a blood relationship had been accorded.[99] But Artabasdus, as a general of Constantine, secretly and gradually assembled all the soldiers of the palace on the pretext of fighting other peoples. As soon as he saw him (Constantine) alone and about to be deserted by all the senate, he, with the allies whom he had united to himself, made haste to frighten Constantine off from the palace (*palatium*)[100] in order to be murdered. When Constantine understood that Artabasdus was com-

[94] *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §62 (= Pereira/Wolf, §76).

[95] *Ibid.*, §68 (= Pereira/Wolf, §84).

[96] This is the earliest occurrence of this term (= Arabic *amīr al-mu'minīn*) in a non-Muslim text.

[97] *Ibid.*, §71 (= Pereira/Wolf, §87).

[98] I.e. the seven hundred and eighty third. This is incorrect; Constantine's rule began in June 741.

[99] Artabasdus had married Constantine's sister Anna (Theophanes, 413). The account of Artabasdus' usurpation is told at length by Nicephorus, §§64–66, and Theophanes, 413–15, 417–21; it lasted from June 742 until November 743.

[100] Literally, the Palatine hill in Rome or a temple/imperial residence on that hill. Here the author seems to mean imperial residence, but in the next paragraph he uses the word to intend the sovereignty itself.

ing with a rowdy squadron of armed men, he left his abode with his men and sought out the help of neighbouring peoples. At length, when he saw that he was supported by the multitude, he gave a warning to Artabasdus that he relinquish the palace, hastening to regain his former seat. But soon Artabasdus gave instruction to the people that they not open the gates of the city to the oncoming [soldiers]. At last, when Constantine discovered the city to be secure, he besieged it with a band of his people and prepared for a most arduous war. After he had worn down the inhabitants of the city with hunger for almost three years, peace was negotiated with the citizens through intermediaries and they presented to Constantine Artabasdus bound in chains and much weighed down by the burden of the iron. Then, in view of the gravity of his crime, without interrogating him he put out his eyes and sent him into exile after torturing him for a long time.[101]

At this time everyone in the country quickly learned that Yazīd [son of] Walīd had committed suicide[102] and that his brother Ibrāhīm (*Abrahim*)—at the beginning of era 783 (745), in the first year of Constantine, with the 127th of the Arabs expiring (745)—had been left as his successor. But Marwān, one of the Arabs, hearing that the rule was about to be lost and was torn in conflicting directions by civil war,[103] ferociously pursued the vacant position by tyrannical means. In the era 784 (746), in the second year of the rule of Constantine, 128 of the Arabs (746), Marwān, while fighting a war with the allies of Ibrāhīm,[104] as said above, finding him (Ibrāhīm) with [only] a few men, he (Marwān) immediately struck him with his sword, desiring the rule (*palatium*). And so, because of this affair, he was hindered by internal strife, living amid insurrection for five years and engaging in various battles. He

[101] *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §73 (= Pereira/Wolf, 89). This is mistranslated by Wolf as "he was sent into exile... without ever having been asked why he had committed so great a crime." The point is that his crime was so serious that he merited no trial.

[102] Yazīd died of a brain tumour (see *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 744), so instead of *propria morte functum* one should perhaps read *propera morte functum* ("he suffered a sudden death").

[103] The text is *palatium adiens periturum et proprio velle in diversa distractum*. For *adiens* read *audiens*; for *proprio velle* one should perhaps understand *proprio bello*, meaning "by a war of its own" (i.e. by civil war); *palatium*, as pointed out in n. 100 above, seems to intend here the empire or the rule.

[104] Or "while fighting a war against Ibrāhīm with his (Marwān's) allies."

was pursued from Damascus as far as the Babylonian plains[105] by Ṣāliḥ (*Zali*),[106] paternal uncle of 'Abd Allāh,[107] whom the great majority of the Ishmaelites had chosen as ruler for themselves, and, having crossed the Nile, he fell down decapitated.[108]

At this time—in the era 788 (750), in the 6th year of his (Constantine's) rule, 133 of the Arabs (750–51), in the first of 'Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī (*Abdella Alescemi*)—Marwān, as we have said, hounded by a band of the people and frightened by the insurrection of the nations, fled with the public treasure from the palace and sought to enter Libya in order to prepare anew for battle. 'Abd Allāh, no longer fearing anything, headed for the royal seat at the instigation of his elders. He immediately despatched his uncle Ṣāliḥ after him with an immense army of fighters, namely Persians, who were still worshippers of the sun and dark demons. They vehemently chased Marwān, who was fleeing from city to city and finding no refuge on account of the evils which he had done and the various slaughters which he had inflicted on the Saracens. He crossed the Nile, a river of Egypt, but when the two sides came together in a place which is called in their language Ashmunayn (*Azunummin*), they threw themselves so mercilessly upon each other that for two days they laid each other low with a killing of many on both sides. Marwān was with difficulty overcome and slain on the third [day], [whereupon] they put their swords back into their sheaths and rested themselves. Then, despatching the heads of the nobles to 'Abd Allāh, the generals were rewarding their men handsomely from the profits of plunder and pacifying all the former borders as was proper.[109]

[105]This is the wrong way round; Marwān was defeated at the battle of the Zab in northern Iraq and from there fled to Palestine (see *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 750).

[106]I.e. Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī (not 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī as stated by Wolf); cf. *Syriac CS*, *s.a.* 750.

[107]I.e. Abū l-'Abbās, the first Abbasid caliph (750–54).

[108]*Chron. Hisp. 754*, §74 (= Pereira/Wolf, §90).

[109]*Chron. Hisp. 754*, §76 (= Pereira/Wolf, §94).

EXCURSUS C

AN OUTLINE OF THE SYRIAC COMMON SOURCE

THE INTENTION of this excursus is to give an impression of the nature and scope of the *Syriac Common Source*—that is, Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle—which was relied upon by Theophanes, Dionysius of Tellmaḥre and Agapius for events in the East from *ca.* 590–750.[1] The method of this reconstruction has been to assemble all and only those notices which feature in, and are narrated in a similar manner by, two or all of Theophilus' three dependents (Dionysius being represented by Michael the Syrian and/or the *Chronicle of 1234*). Notices in Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*, but not in Theophanes or Agapius, are excluded since they very likely only go back to Dionysius. Theophanes and Agapius give notices from Theophilus mostly in the same order, and I follow this order here. I have assigned dates to a number of the entries, largely obtained from independent sources, the purpose of this being to allow me to refer to this reconstruction in the rest of the book and to demonstrate Theophilus' chronological ordering of events; it is not intended to solve problems of chronology. An undated event is generally to be placed somewhere between the dates immediately preceding and following it, but should *not* be assumed to fall in the same year as the dated entry preceding it. Each entry is a summary of what is common to each of the dependents, but one or more of them

[1] For more information see the entry on "Theophilus of Edessa" and each of his three dependents in Chapter 10 above.

will generally give further information. Theophilus will be designated as "CS" ("Common Source") in this outline, and Michael the Syrian simply as "Michael."

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[589–91] There was a revolt amongst the Persians led by Bahram; Khusrau sought refuge and aid from Maurice, who helped him to regain his throne.[2]

[590–98] A report on various natural disasters and phenomena.[3]

[602] The army mutinied against Maurice and they asked his brother Peter to be emperor; he refused and went to inform Maurice in Constantinople. Thereupon Maurice fled to Chalcedon; the army pursued and killed him, and proclaimed Phocas emperor.[4]

[603–604] When he heard of the murder of Maurice, Khusrau annulled the treaty between him and the Byzantines and marched on Dara, taking it after a siege.[5]

[610] The Persians crossed the Euphrates and subjugated all of Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia.[6] They passed through Armenia and Cappadocia, took Galatia and Paphlagonia, and advanced as far as

[2]Agapius, 441–47; Michael 10.XXIII, 386–87/371–72; *Chron. 1234*, 1.215–17. This is a long account, especially in Agapius, who includes examples of the correspondence between Maurice and Khusrau (not found in Theophanes). Cf. Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, 3.VIII.1–2, 10–12 (revolt begins year 8 of Maurice); *Chron. paschale*, 691 (concludes in the ninth indiction/591).

[3]Agapius, 447; Michael 10.XXIII, 387/373–74; *Chron 1234*, 1.218. There is only a slight overlap between the respective notices here.

[4]Agapius, 447–48; Michael 10.XXIV, 388–89/374–75; *Chron. 1234*, 1.218–19. The entry is dated by all to year 20 of Maurice.

[5]Agapius, 448 (very brief); Michael 10.XXV, 389–90/377–78, and *Chron 1234*, 1.220–21 (includes Khusrau's mourning for Maurice and address to the army). Cf. Theophanes, 292, 293; Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 145 (AG 915: capture of Dara).

[6]Theophanes, 295; Michael 10.XXV, 391/378, 391–92/379; *Chron. 1234*, 1.224. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 146, has: "On 7 August of the same year (AG 921/610) Shahrbaraz crossed to Zenobia and took it; this was the first city west of the Euphrates to be taken."

Chalcedon.[7] And while the Persians were thus oppressing the Byzantines outside the capital, Phocas was outdoing them from within by murdering and imprisoning people.[8]

There was a disturbance among the Jews of Antioch, and they murdered Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch.[9]

Two patricians in Africa, Gregory and Heraclius, planned a rebellion against Phocas, sending their sons, Nicetas and Heraclius, to Constaninople, the former by land, the latter by sea. It was agreed that whichever arrived at the capital first would become emperor. The sea was calm and Heraclius arrived first, entered the city and killed Phocas.[10]

[608–609] There was a very severe cold such that the water froze on the sea shore.[11]

[610–11] The Persians took Apamea, Ḥimṣ and Antioch. Then they besieged and captured Cappadocian Caesarea.[12]

The Saracens invaded Syria and after much plunder and devastation returned home.[13]

[613] The Persians subjugated Damascus.[14]

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[7]Theophanes, 296; Michael 10.XXV, 391–92/379; *Chron. 1234*, 1.224.

[8]Theophanes, 296; Michael 10.XXV, 391/378; *Chron. 1234*, 1.224 (all have very similar wording).

[9]Theophanes, 296; Agapius, 449; Michael 10.XXV, 392/379. On this pogrom see Olster, *Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century*, 101–15, who feels that it has been confused with an earlier riot at Antioch between the circus factions.

[10]Theophanes, 297; Agapius, 449; Michael 10.XXV, 391/378; *Chron. 1234*, 1.225–26. The pact between Nicetas and Heraclius is also mentioned in *Chron. Byz.–Arab 741*, §6; *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §1; Nicephorus, §1; *Chron. Siirt* LXXXII, *PO* 13, 527.

[11]Theophanes, 297; Michael 10.XXV, 392/379. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 146 (AG 920).

[12]Theophanes, 299; Agapius, 450; Michael 11.I, 403/400; *Chron. 1234*, 1.226. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 146 (AG 922: capture of Ḥimṣ).

[13]Theophanes, 300; Michael 11.I, 403/401. Both date the incident to the first year of Heraclius, but Michael places it after an eclipse, which must be that of 4 November 617 (Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 115–16), and so one wonders whether to connect this with the notice in *Short Chron. 775* and *Ehnesh Inscription* under AG 930/618–19 that the Arabs "entered the land."

[14]Theophanes, 300; Michael 11.I, 403/400; *Chron. 1234*, 1.226. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 146 (AG 924).

[614] The Persians took Jerusalem, slaying 90,000 people in it. The Jews ransomed the Christians so as to kill them. The patriarch Zachariah was led off with the Cross and many captives into Persia.[15]

[619] The Persians occupied all of Egypt, Alexandria and Libya as far as Ethiopia, and the Persian general Shahin besieged and took Chalcedon.[16]

[622] {Muḥammad appeared in Yathrib....}[17]

The Persians captured Ancyra in Galatia and the island of Rhodes.[18]

Khusrau became arrogant because of his numerous victories and hardened his yoke on all men.[19]

[625–26] The Persian general Shahrbaraz besieged Constantinople.[20]

The sun was darkened from October to June.[21]

Khusrau ordered the deportation of the inhabitants of Edessa to Persia, but the governor, a clement man, delayed this action.[22]

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[15]Theophanes, 300–301; Agapius, 451 (very brief); Michael 11.I, 403–404/400; *Chron. 1234*, 1.226–27. For the date of this event (May 614) see the entry on "Sebeos" in Chapter 4 above.

[16]Theophanes, 301; Agapius, 451; Michael 11.I, 404/401; *Chron. 1234*, 1.227. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 146 (June AG 930/619: capture of Alexandria). Theophanes places the capture of Chalcedon in the next year.

[17]Theophanes, 333–34; Agapius, 456–57; Michael 11.II, 404–407/403–405; *Chron. 1234*, 1.227–30. Cf. *Chron. Siirt* CI, *PO* 13, 600–601. For CS's account of the appearance of Muḥammad see the entry on "Theophilus of Edessa" in Chapter 10 above.

[18]Theophanes, 302; Agapius, 451, 458; Michael 11.III, 408/408; *Chron. 1234*, 1.230. All agree that this occurred in the first year of Muḥammad. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 147 (AG 934: capture of Rhodes).

[19]Theophanes, 302; Agapius, 451, 458; Michael 11.III, 408/408; *Chron. 1234*, 1.230.

[20]Agapius, 458; Michael 11.III, 408/408; *Chron. 1234*, 1.231. Cf. *Chron. paschale*, 716–17 (indiction 14/625–26). Theophanes, 315–16, probably recounts this event from a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §§12–13).

[21]Agapius, 452, 461; Michael 11.III, 409/411; *Chron. 1234*, 1.231. Cf. Thomas the Presbyter, *Chronicle*, 147 (15 September AG 938/627); Agapius, 461 (there was an eclipse in year 7 of Muḥammad). All this may have to do with volcanic dust (Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 120).

[22]Agapius, 460–61; Michael 11.III, 408/411; *Chron. 1234*, 1.230–31. Agapius, 458–60, describes how the Jacobite Cyrus, tax-collector of Edessa, was envied by the city's Chalcedonian community and denounced to Khusrau, but Cyrus' relative Jonah, physician to the emperor, persuaded the latter to compel the Chalcedo-

Shahrbaraz was slandered to Khusrau, who ordered him to be killed. Learning of this, Shahrbaraz defected to the Byzantine side.[23]

Heraclius asked the king of the Khazars to send 40,000 men to help him fight Khusrau and in return promised his daughter Eudocia as a wife. Heraclius set off and retook many cities from the Persians.[24]

When Khusrau heard of the mutiny of Shahrbaraz and the expedition of Heraclius, he became anxious and agitated. His forces were scattered throughout Syria and Mesopotamia. He sent against Heraclius a certain Rozbahan, who was defeated, and so Khusrau fled.[25]

[628] Shiroi, who had been emprisoned by his father, pursued the latter and killed him, and became emperor himself. He made peace with Heraclius on the condition that the Persians would leave the territories of the Byzantines.[26]

At Edessa the Persians refused to heed the letters of Shahrbaraz and Shiroi that they should withdraw, and Heraclius' brother Theodore was forced to use catapults to evict them.[27]

Theodore sought to kill the Jews at Edessa because they had aided the Persians, but a certain Jew, anticipating this, obtained a pardon from Heraclius and saved his fellow Jews.[28]

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nian Edessans to become Jacobite or Nestorian. Dionysius (in Michael 11.I, 403–404/402–403; *ibid.* 11.III, 408/411; *Chron. 1234*, 1.230) agrees on the first part, but makes the repercussion of the Edessene's envy of Cyrus that Khusrau stripped the silver from the city's churches.

[23]Theophanes, 323–24; Agapius, 461–62; Michael 11.III, 408–409/408–409; *Chron. 1234*, 1.231–32. Cf. *Chron. Siirt* LXXXVII, *PO* 13, 540–41. On this incident see Mango, "Deux études," 105–109, who may, however, be wrong to say that Theophanes and *Chron. Siirt* give independent testimony, for *Chron. Siirt* seems also to use CS, though most likely indirectly. The incident is also known to Muslim sources (on this point see Kaegi, "Heraclius, Shahrbarāz and Ṭabarī").

[24]Agapius, 462–63; Michael 11.III, 409/409; *Chron. 1234*, 1.233.

[25]Agapius, 463–64; Michael 11.III, 409/409; *Chron. 1234*, 1.233–34.

[26]Agapius, 464–65; Michael 11.III, 409/409; *Chron. 1234*, 1.234–35. Cf. *Chron. paschale*, 727–29 (Shiroi was crowned on 25 February indiction 1/628).

[27]Agapius, 452–53, 465–66; Michael 11.III, 409–10/409–10; *Chron. 1234*, 1.235.

[28]Agapius, 466; Michael 11.III, 410/410; *Chron. 1234*, 1.235–236. Sebeos, XXX (tr. Macler, 94–95), gives a garbled account of these two notices.

[630] Shiroi died and was succeeded by Ardashir, but Shahrbaraz killed him and there was a struggle for power between him and Kardigan.[29]

Shahrbaraz agreed to return the Holy Cross, and Heraclius then restored it to Jerusalem.[30]

[634] Abū Bakr sent out four generals: one to Palestine, one to Egypt, one to Persia and one to the Arab Christians.[31]

The patrician Sergius came from Palestinian Caesarea to engage a troop of Arabs, but was killed.[32]

There was an earthquake and a sign appeared in the sky, which was sword-shaped, extending from north to south, and remained for 30 days, signalling the coming of the Arabs. In many places there was a severe plague.[33]

Abū Bakr died. After him there reigned 'Umar, who sent an army into that part of Arabia called Balqa'; it took Bostra and other cities.[34]

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[29]Agapius, 452, 467; Michael 11.III, 410/410; *Chron. 1234*, 1.237–38. Ṭabarī, 1.1061–62, says that Shiroi ruled 8 months and Ardashir 18 months; counting from Shiroi's accession in February 628 this puts Ardashir's death in April 630.

[30]Agapius, 467–68; *Chron. 1234*, 1.238.

[31]Theophanes, 336; Agapius, 453–54, 468; Michael 11.IV, 411/413; *Chron. 1234*, 1.239–40 (which names the generals). Muslim sources date Abū Bakr's despatch of the generals to early AH 13/March–April 634, though this may be slightly late (Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 124–26).

[32]Theophanes, 336; Agapius, 454, 468–69; Michael 11.IV, 411–12/413; *Chron. 1234*, 1.241–42. This is a lengthy account in the latter two sources, which tell of the participation of Samaritan foot-soldiers and of how Sergius kept falling off his horse.

[33]Theophanes, 336; Agapius, 454, 469; Michael 11.IV, 413/414. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 150 (sign in sky, dated to AG 937); *Chron. Siirt* XCIV, *PO* 13, 580. Agapius applies the 30 days to the earthquake instead of the comet. Michael dates the earthquake to September 634 and the comet immediately after it. Only Agapius, 469, and Michael 11.V, 414/419, mention the plague.

[34]Theophanes, 336–37; Agapius, 469; Michael 11.V, 414/417; *Chron. 1234*, 1.245. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 149 (Jumādā II 13 AH/August 634: Abū Bakr's death). In the reconstruction of Ibn Isḥāq and Wāqidī Bostra was the first city to be taken (Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 129); other Muslim historians say Ma'ab (Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 83–87), though Ṭabarī, 1.2108, says this was only a tribal encampment.

'Umar sent an army to Persia; it defeated the Persians, whose kingdom was weakened. Afterwards Hormizd was killed and Yazdgird became emperor.[35]

Heraclius sent his brother Theodore against the Arabs, but he was defeated.[36]

[635] Heraclius sent the general Baanes and the son of Shahrbaraz to protect Damascus, and they encamped in the vicinity of that city by the river Barada.[37] The emperor also despatched the *sakellarios* Theodore against the Arabs; he encountered an Arab force near Ḥimṣ, killed some and chased the rest to Damascus.[38]

[636] The next year the Arabs returned to campaign in the vicinity of Damascus. Theodore and a patrician came with 70,000 men to provide reinforcements for Baanes and the son of Shahrbaraz, still encamped by the city. When the Arabs and Byzantines first engaged, Theodore's contingent was defeated. Baanes' men rebelled and acclaimed him emperor; Theodore's men withdrew, and at the next encounter the Arabs were victorious. Many of the Byzantines were drowned in the river Yarmuk; a total of 40,000 of them were killed.[39]

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[35]Theophanes, 341; Agapius, 469 (fragmentary); Michael 11.V, 414/417–18; *Chron. 1234*, 1.245. Soon after his accession 'Umar sent Abū 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī to Iraq (Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 174, 191–95).

[36]Theophanes, 337; Agapius, 454, 469–70; Michael 11.V, 414–15/418; *Chron. 1234*, 1.242–44. This is a lengthy account in the latter two, who recount his meeting with a stylite near Ḥimṣ. *Chron. 1234* says the two sides were encamped opposite each other from May to October, towards the end of which there was an encounter. Cf. Nicephorus, §20 (conflating this battle with that of Yarmuk); *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, §12).

[37]Cf. *Chron. Byz.-Arab 741*, §15. *Fragment on the Arab Conquests*, ll. 17–19, and Michael 11.VI, 415–16/420, agree that there was a skirmish between Baanes and the Arabs near Damascus; the former seems to say that it occurred in August and that 10,000 Byzantines were killed. Khalīfa, 130 (AH 15), says that Baanes was a Persian noble who converted to Christianity and went over to the Byzantines; see further Gil, *History of Palestine*, 34 and n. 33 thereto.

[38]Theophanes, 337; Michael 11.VI, 415–16/420; *Chron. 1234*, 1.244. *Fragment on the Arab Conquests*, ll. 14–16, places Theodore's success in May 635.

[39]Theophanes, 337–38; Agapius, 453, 470; Michael 11.VI, 415/420, 416/420–21; *Chron. 1234*, 1.244. This entry is confused in all the texts. Agapius and Michael agree that Theodore and a patrician (of Ḥimṣ or Antioch) had 70,000 men; Theophanes, Michael and *Chron. 1234* agree that 40,000 Byzantines were killed. *Fragment on the Arab Conquests*, l. 20, gives 20 August AG 947/636 as the

Having vanquished the Byzantines, the Arabs came to Damascus and took it and many other cities of Syria by treaty.[40]

[636–37] Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ left Yathrib, marched across the desert of Qadash and encamped five parasangs from Kufa. The forces assembled by Yazdgird to oppose them established themselves on the Euphrates by Kufa. The Arabs routed the Persians and pursued them as far as Ctesiphon.[41]

[637–42] The Persians regrouped on the east bank of the Tigris and cut the bridges so that the Arabs could not cross. But the latter plunged into the river with their horses and charged at the Persians, whom they put to flight. Then they seized Ctesiphon. Yazdgird rallied the Persians again at Jalula', Ḥulwan and Nihawand, but each time he was defeated and so fled.[42]

Seeing the rout of the Byzantines, Heraclius left Antioch for Constantinople, bidding farewell to Syria. He wrote to Egypt,

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date of a battle at Gabitha. Since this is close to dates given by many Muslim sources for the battle of Yarmuk (Caetani, *Chron.*, 180, and Khalīfa, 130: Rajab AH 15/August 636) and since Michael states that Gabitha was on the river Yarmuk (in the region of Bostra), we may assume that Christian and Muslim sources are recording the same battle. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 150 (AG 944); *Chron. 819*, 11 (AG 947).

[40]Theophanes, 338; Agapius, 470; Michael 11.VI, 416/421. These three give this notice in a single sentence, whereas *Chron. 1234* massively expands it by drawing on Muslim sources. The latter mostly place the capture of Damascus some time in autumn 14 AH/635, but say that the Arabs evacuated it upon the approach of the Byzantines in 636, then reclaimed it after the latter's defeat at Yarmuk (Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 131–32, 137).

[41]Agapius, 470; Michael 11.VI, 416–17/421; *Chron. 1234*, 1.246–47. Cf. *Chron. Siirt* CVI, *PO* 13, 627–28. Dionysius includes an anecdote about a man of Ḥira, sent to spy on the Arabs, who encounters a tribesman of Ma'add eating bread and delousing his shirt while urinating (see Brock, "Syriac Views," 13, who notes that a similar tale is also told about Homer); Michael adds a further anecdote about a Persian soldier fleeing from a naked lance-bearing Arab of Ma'add. Muslim sources commonly have Sa'd depart from Medina in AH 15/636 and wage the battle of Qadisiya in 16/637 (Caetani, *Annali*, 3.629–33), but they are not unanimous.

[42]Agapius, 470–71; Michael 11.VII, 417–18/423–24; *Chron. 1234*, 1.247–48. Cf. *Chron. Siirt* XCIV, *PO* 13, 580–81. Muslim sources commonly date the capture of Ctesiphon to winter 16/637, of Ḥulwan to 19/640 and of Nihawand to 21/642 (Caetani, *Chron.*, 189–90, 217).

Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia that no one should engage the Arabs further, but whoever could hold on to his post should do so.[43]

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, Cyrus and the Arab capture of Egypt.[44]

[637–38] 'Umar came to Palestine from Yathrib. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, went out to meet him and obtained from him a guarantee for the country's security and a diploma stating that the Jews were forbidden to live in Jerusalem. Then 'Umar entered the holy city and ordered that a mosque be built on the site of the Temple of Solomon. Noticing that 'Umar's clothes were very dirty, Sophronius asked him to accept a robe. But the king refused, only conceding to wear the robe while his own clothes were being washed.[45]

'Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm passed through the cities of Syria and made agreements with them all.[46]

John Kataias, governor of Osrhoene, came to 'Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm at Qinnasrin and agreed to pay the Arabs 100,000 gold pieces each year so long as they did not cross the Euphrates and enter Mesopotamia. Then he gave one year's tribute to 'Iyāḍ. When Heraclius learnt that, he became angry and deposed and exiled John, replacing him with the general Ptolemy.[47]

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[43]Theophanes, 337; Agapius, 470, 471; Michael 11.VII, 418–19/424–25; *Chron. 1234*, 1.251. Cf. *Chron. Siirt* CVI, *PO* 13, 626. Michael says that Heraclius also ordered his troops to despoil the countryside as they retreated.

[44]Theophanes, 338–39; Agapius, 471–74; Michael 11.VII, 419/425, and 11.VIII, 422–23/432–33; *Chron. 1234*, 1.251–53. This is a fairly lengthy account in all texts; it is given in full and discussed in the entry on "The Conquest of Egypt" in Chapter 13 above.

[45]Theophanes, 339; Agapius, 454, 475; Michael 11.VII, 419–20/425–26; *Chron. 1234*, 1.254–55. Muslim sources commonly date 'Umar's visit to Jerusalem to AH 17/638 (Caetani, *Chron.*, 200–201); Khalīfa, 130, has 16/637. See also the entry on "Sophronius" in Chapter 3 above.

[46]Theophanes, 339; Agapius, 476; Michael 11.VII, 420/426 (not specifying 'Iyāḍ); *Chron. 1234*, 1.256.

[47]Theophanes, 340; Agapius, 476; Michael 11.VII, 420/426; *Chron. 1234*, 1.256. Agapius has 'Abbād ibn 'Āthim instead of 'Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm and Būlus instead of Īwannis; in both cases the difference in orthography is small.

The Arabs took Antioch and enslaved the people of the villages roundabout; 'Umar appointed Mu'āwiya over Syria.[48]

[639–40] 'Iyāḍ crossed the Euphrates because the Arabs had not been paid the tribute for this year. The Edessenes came out and made a treaty for their city, but Tella and Dara refused to submit, so the Arabs took them by force and killed all the Byzantines (*Rūm/Rhumāyē*) in them. Having subjected all Mesopotamia, 'Iyāḍ returned to Syria.[49]

'Umar ordered that all the countries of his kingdom be registered for tribute.[50]

[641] In the year 952 of the Greeks, 19 of the Arabs and 7 of 'Umar, Heraclius died. After him reigned his son Constantine, but he was murdered by Heraclius' wife Martina, and Heraclonas ruled. The Byzantines, however, deposed him, and Constans, son of Constantine and grandson of Heraclius, ruled.[51]

Mu'āwiya captured Palestinian Caesarea after a long siege and killed most of the 7000 Byzantines guarding it.[52]

The Arabs ravaged the town of Euchaita in Cilicia.[53]

The Arabs began to build a temple in Jerusalem, but the construction fell down. The Jews told them that if they did not re-

[48]Theophanes, 340; Agapius, 476–77; *Chron. 1234*, 1.256. Michael 11.VI, 416/421, and 11.VII, 418/424, mentions raiding around Aleppo and Antioch. Khalīfa, 134, records that Aleppo, Antioch and Manbij were taken in AH 16/637.

[49]Theophanes, 340; Agapius, 477; Michael 11.VII, 420–21/426; *Chron. 1234*, 1.256–57. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 150–51 (AG 948, 952); *Chron. 819*, 11; Caetani, *Chron.*, 209–10, 219 (AH 18–19/639–40); see also the entry on "The Conquest of Egypt" in Chapter 13 above.

[50]Theophanes, 341; Agapius, 478; Michael 11.VII, 421/426. Muslim sources mention only 'Umar's registering of Arab tribesmen (e.g. Ṭabarī, 2.749–52).

[51]Theophanes, 341–42; Agapius, 454, 478; Michael 11.VII, 421/426; *Chron. 1234*, 1.260. Nicephorus, §27, implies, and John of Nikiu, CXVI.2 (tr. Charles, 184–85), states that Heraclius died in February 641, which fell in the beginning of year AH 20. Agapius, 454, and Dionysius assign Heraclius a reign of 30 years and 5 months, which was perhaps the figure of CS; Theophanes gives 30 years 10 months.

[52]Theophanes, 341; Agapius, 454, 478; Michael 11.VIII, 422–23/430–31; *Chron. 1234*, 1.259. Michael says the siege lasted "from the beginning of December to the month of May," so Theophanes' 7 years should probably be amended to 7 months. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 151 (AG 953); Muslim sources give either AH 19/640 or 20/641 for Caesarea's capture (Caetani, *Annali*, 4.156–61), perhaps reflecting that its siege spanned both years.

[53]Agapius, 478; Michael 11.VIII, 423/431; *Chron. 1234*, 1.259.

move the cross from the church opposite on the Mount of Olives, then their building would never stay up. So they brought down that cross and their building stood firm. For this reason they took down many crosses.[54]

[644] There was an eclipse of the sun on Friday, 5 November.[55]

The patrician Valentinus rebelled against Constans, who had him killed and his rebellion crushed.[56]

After twelve years of rule 'Umar was assassinated while at prayer, stabbed in the stomach by a slave. He was succeeded by 'Uthmān.[57]

[648] The patrician Gregory rebelled in Africa. The Arabs raided Africa and fought and defeated Gregory, who went to Constantinople and submitted to the emperor.[58]

There was a violent gale; trees were uprooted, crops destroyed and the columns of stylites collapsed.[59]

[649] Mu'āwiya launched a naval expedition against Cyprus and Arwad.[60]

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[54]Theophanes, 342; Michael 11.VIII, 421/431; *Chron. 1234*, 1.260–61 (who connects the collapse of the Arabs' construction with the gale mentioned below). Cf. *Chron. Siirt* CIV, *PO* 13, 624; Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 132–33 (citing Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra). Dionysius also notes that the emir 'Amr bar Sa'd forbade crosses to be displayed outside churches.

[55]Theophanes, 343; Agapius, 479; Michael 11.VIII, 421–22/432 (who has Tishrīn I instead of Tishrīn II). The date is confirmed by Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 123–24.

[56]Theophanes, 343; *Chron. 1234*, 1.260.

[57]Theophanes, 343; Agapius, 479; Michael 11.VIII, 421–22/430; *Chron. 1234*, 1.261. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 12 (AG 955); Caetani, *Chron.*, 261 (Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 23/November 644). That it was in the stomach that 'Umar was stabbed is stated also by Muslim sources (e.g. Ṭabarī, 1.2723).

[58]Theophanes, 343; Agapius, 479; Michael 11.X, 428/440–41; *Chron. 1234*, 1.260. Agapius adds that the Arabs took Alexandria, ousting the patrician Manuel. Khalīfa, 159, places the encounter between Gregory (*Jarjīr*) and the Arabs, led by 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sarḥ, 70 miles from Qayrawan in the year AH 27 (probably spring or summer, and so 648).

[59]Theophanes, 343; Agapius, 480; Michael 11.X, 429/445; *Chron. 1234*, 1.260 (adduced to explain why the Arabs' temple fell down).

[60]Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 308, AH 28 (probably in spring or summer, so 649). This and the following notice seem to belong together as an account of the conquest of Cyprus and Arwad, so references to CS are given in the next note.

[650] Mu'āwiya again attacked and this time captured Cyprus and Arwad.[61]

[651–52] 'Uthmān sent his son Sa'īd in pursuit of Yazdgird, the king of the Persians, who had been in refuge in Sistan. Sa'īd caught up with the king in Merw, where he was hiding in a windmill. The owner killed him and Sa'īd took the head to his father, who put it in the Ka'ba, where it still is.[62]

The Arabs campaigned in Isauria.[63]

The emperor Constans sent an ambassador to Mu'āwiya to sue for peace; the latter agreed, and Gregory, son of Heraclius' brother Theodore, was given as a hostage. The next year Gregory died at Heliopolis and his embalmed body was sent to Constantinople.[64]

[653] The Armenians revolted against Constans and submitted to the Muslims. The patrician Pasagnathes, their governor, made an agreement with Mu'āwiya and sent him his son as hostage. Constans marched as far as Cappadocian Caesarea, then returned having despaired of regaining the province.[65]

Mu'āwiya despatched troops to Rhodes, who captured it. They threw down the Colossus of Rhodes and sold it to a Jew of Ḥimṣ.[66]

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[61]Theophanes, 343–44; Agapius, 455, 480–81; Michael 11.X, 429–30/441–42; *Chron. 1234*, 1.268–73. This account is fairly long in all the texts, particularly in *Chron. 1234*, which is probably quoting Dionysius verbatim. See Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwad."

[62]Agapius, 481; Michael 11.VIII, 422/430; *Chron. 1234*, 1.273–74. Cf. Sebeos, XXXV (tr. Macler, 131–32), speaking of year 11 of Constans/651–52; *Chron. Siirt* XCIV, *PO* 13, 581; Caetani, *Chron.*, 329 (AH 31/651–52). Presumably Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ is meant to be the subject of this report, but he was not the son of 'Uthmān.

[63]Theophanes, 344; Michael 11.XI, 432/446. Theophanes says the commander was *Bousour*, presumably Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt.

[64]Theophanes, 344; Agapius, 481; Michael 11.XI, 432/446; *Chron. 1234*, 1.274. Gregory's death is only mentioned by Theophanes and *Chron. 1234*. Sebeos, XXXIII (tr. Macler, 110–111), and *Chron. Zuqnin*, 152, agree with Theophanes that the ambassador was Procopius; Michael has Ptolemy and Agapius mentions Manuel.

[65]Theophanes, 344; Agapius, 482. The submission of the Armenians presumably refers to Theodore Rshtuni's conclusion of peace with Mu'āwiya in year 12 of Constans/653 (Sebeos, XXV [tr. Macler, 132–33]).

[66]Theophanes, 345; Agapius, 482; Michael 11.X, 430/442–43. See Conrad, "The Arabs and the Colossus."

The Arab general Ḥabīb ibn Maslama attacked and ravaged Armenia.[67]

[654] Mu'āwiya prepared a naval expedition against Constantinople. It was sabotaged while in port by two Christians, but was still launched under the command of Abū l-A'war. Constans had dreamt that he was at Thessaloniki, which an interpreter said presaged his defeat (*thes allō tēn nikē*), and indeed he lost an encounter against Abū l-A'war by Phoenix on the Lycian coast.[68]

[656] 'Uthmān was assassinated in Medina, which resulted in civil war amongst the Arabs.[69]

[657] Mu'āwiya and 'Alī engaged in battle by the Euphrates.[70]

[659] There was a violent earthquake in Palestine and Syria.[71]

{A peace was made between the Byzantines and Arabs at Mu'āwiya's request.}[72]

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[67]Theophanes, 345; Michael 11.X, 428/441 (who explains this as a joint campaign, the other half of the army marching with Mu'āwiya against Cappadocian Caesarea and Armorium). Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 330 (AH 31/652); the next year he campaigned in northern Mesopotamia (*ibid.*, 338; *Chron. Zuqnin*, 152 [AG 964]).

[68]Theophanes, 345–46; Agapius, 483–84; Michael 11.XI, 430–32/445–46; *Chron. 1234*, 1.274–75. Agapius blends this with an account of a campaign in the region of Melitene. Cf. Sebeos, XXXVI (tr. Macler, 140), who dates it to year 13 of Constans/653–54; Caetani, *Chron.*, 360 (AH 34/July 654–July 55); so probably summer 654.

[69]Theophanes, 346; Agapius, 484; Michael 11.XII, 433–34/450; *Chron. 1234*, 1.275–77. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 152 (AG 967); *Chron. 819*, 12 (AG 967); Caetani, *Chron.*, 368 (Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 35/June 656: 'Uthmān's death). The civil war itself is described in different ways by CS' dependents.

[70]Theophanes, 347; Michael 11.XII, 434/450; *Chron. 1234*, 1.278. This is the battle of Ṣiffin; Theophanes has conflated it with the battle of Karbala fought by 'Alī's son Ḥusayn in 680, as is clear from the mention of thirst causing the defection of 'Alī's men (Ṭabarī, 2.312–13). *Chron. 1234*, 1.280, also makes the battle of Karbala part of this civil war, though correctly connects it with Ḥusayn. Agapius seems only to mention the Battle of the Camel. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 152 (AG 968); *Ehnesh Inscription*, *s.a.* AG 968; Caetani, *Chron.*, 411 (summer AH 37/657).

[71]Theophanes, 347; Michael 11.XIII, 436/456, which is vague. Cf. *Chron. Maronite*, 70 (7 June AG 970/659, which was, as Theophanes says, indiction two).

[72]This is only reported by Theophanes, 347, who says that Mu'āwiya "had sent an embassy because of the rebellion," so implying that it fell during the civil war (656–61), which is corroborated by Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 37. However, Michael 11.XII, 435/450, mentions the expiry of a seven-year truce in AG 980, which

Constans killed his own brother Theodosius.[73]

[661] 'Alī was assassinated; Mu'āwiya became sole ruler, living in Damascus.[74]

The sect of the Harurites appeared.[75]

Mu'āwiya favoured the people of the West over those of the East, since the former had submitted to him.[76]

Constans decided to transfer the imperial capital to Syracuse in Sicily. He ordered that his sons be brought over as well, but the Constantinopolitans would not let them go.[77]

Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt campaigned in Asia Minor.[78]

[664–65] In this year there was a confusion over the date of Easter.[79]

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid raided in Asia Minor.[80]

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would mean that it began in AG 973, which is approximately supported by Khalīfa, 205 (AH 41/661) and Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 1.141 (AH 42/662).

[73]Theophanes, 347; Michael 11.XI, 432/446. Cf. *Chron. Maronite*, 70 (AG 970).

[74]Theophanes, 347; Michael 11.XII, 434/450; *Chron. 1234*, 1.279–80. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 153 (AG 973); Caetani, *Chron.*, 451 (Ramaḍān AH 40/January 661: 'Alī's death; though some sources give an earlier date), 462 (summer 41/661: universal acknowledgement of Mu'āwiya). Dionysius tells how three men pledged each to kill one of the emirs responsible for the civil war, namely 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; two failed, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam, in charge of killing 'Alī, succeeded (for the Muslim versions of this story see *EI*^{2} *s.v.* "Ibn Muldjam").

[75]Theophanes, 347; Agapius, 487; Michael 11.XII, 434–35/450. Each author gives different comments about these sectarians, otherwise known as Kharijites.

[76]Theophanes, 347–48; Agapius, 487. Theophanes blends this with the previous notice and asserts that Mu'āwiya gave the Westerners/people of al-Shām (*Isamites*) a stipend of 200 gold pieces, but the Easterners/people of Iraq (*Herakites*) only 30. Cf. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, 2.110–11 (*dhikr mā jarā bayna ahl al-shām wa-ahl al-'Irāq min al-'adāwa*).

[77]Theophanes, 348; Michael 11.XI, 432/446; *Chron. 1234*, 1.282.

[78]Theophanes, 348; Agapius, 487; Michael 11.XII, 435/450. This notice is very brief in each of the sources, and only Agapius names Busr. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 484–85 (AH 43/663).

[79]Theophanes, 348; Michael 11.XII, 433/451; *Chron. 1234*, 1.282. Dionysius gives the synchronisation AG 976 = AH 44, both corresponding to 664–65.

[80]Theophanes, 348; Agapius, 488; Michael 11.XII, 435/450 (vague). Cf. *Chron. Maronite*, 73 (AG 975); Caetani, *Chron.*, 493 (AH 44/664), 502 (AH 45/665). Theophanes adds that 5000 Slavs returned with 'Abd al-Raḥmān and settled in the region of Apamea.

[665] Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt campaigned in Asia Minor.[81]

Shapur, the general of Byzantine Armenia, rebelled against Constans and sent an envoy named Sergius to Mu'āwiya seeking his support. The emperor sent a eunuch and chamberlain named Andrew to dissuade the caliph from the alliance, but Mu'āwiya aided the rebel.[82]

There was a flood at Edessa.[83]

[668] Constans was murdered by one of his servants, Andrew of Troilus, while in a bath-house in Sicily. The Armenian patrician Mizizius was named emperor, but Constans' son Constantine executed him and himself took power and ruled with his brothers Tiberius and Heraclius.[84]

[670] The Arabs attacked Africa and took 80,000 prisoners.[85]

It was a harsh winter with much snow and ice, and many animals perished.[86]

Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt raided Asia Minor and took many prisoners.[87]

A perfect rainbow appeared in the sky; all the people were afraid and many thought that the end of the world had arrived.[88]

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[81]Theophanes, 348, mentions campaigns of Busr in two separate years; Agapius, 487–88, also seems to, but the first reference is fragmentary. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 493, 502 (AH 44/664, 45/665).

[82]Theophanes, 348–51; Agapius, 488–89; Michael 11.XII, 433–36/451–54; *Chron. 1234*, 1.282–86. This is a lengthy and anecdotal account of Andrew and Sergius at the caliphal court and the revolt of Shapur.

[83]Theophanes, 351; Agapius, 489; Michael 11.XII, 433/451; *Chron. 1234*, 1.286–87.

[84]Theophanes, 351–52; Agapius, 455, 490–91; Michael 11.XII, 435/450–51; *Chron. 1234*, 1.287. Cf. Nicephorus, §33 ("after a reign of 27 years"). Having noted this incident, Agapius, 455, gives a computation of the years from Adam to his day, then jumps back to AG 933/622 and continues from there, often reporting events a second time (this is why two page references have been given for him in this and previous footnotes); the reason for this is unclear.

[85]Theophanes, 352; Agapius, 491 (has 100,000 prisoners); Michael 11.XIII, 436/454; *Chron. 1234*, 1.287. This is probably the raid of Mu'āwiya ibn Ḥudayj in AH 50/670, which according to Khalīfa, 210, led to the capture of many prisoners.

[86]Theophanes, 353; Agapius, 491; Michael 11.XIII, 436/456. Theophanes adds that Phadalas (Faḍāla ibn 'Ubayd) wintered at Cyzicus.

[87]Theophanes, 353; Agapius, 491. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 545, 566–67, 576 (AH 50/670, 51/671, 52/672).

[88]Theophanes, 353; Agapius, 491; Michael 11.XIII, 436/456; *Chron. 1234*, 1.288. The latter two say that the bow appeared at night, Agapius says "in the clouds."

[673] Mu'āwiya sent a naval expedition against the Byzantines.[89]

There was a plague in Egypt.[90]

[674–78] The Arabs led a number of naval campaigns against the Byzantines. In the first they lost 30,000 men at the hands of three patricians. Callinicus, an architect from Heliopolis, fled to the Byzantines with his invention of Greek fire, which gave the Byzantines victory over the Arabs.[91]

A sign/comet appeared in the sky.[92]

Rats were numerous in Syria; they destroyed the crops and so there was a great famine.[93]

There was a locust plague in Syria and Mesopotamia.[94]

The Mardaites, whom the Syrians call *Gargūmāyē*, invaded Lebanon and they gained control from the heights of Galilee to the Black Mountain.[95]

[679] There was a violent earthquake; Batnan of Serug was ruined and part of the old church at Edessa collapsed, but Mu'āwiya had it restored.[96]

[680] Mu'āwiya died on the sixth of May, having been emir for 20/21 years and king for 20/21/24 years. He was buried at Damascus and his son Yazīd succeeded him.[97]

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[89]Theophanes, 353; Agapius, 492. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 587–88 (AH 53/673). Theophanes chiefly reports from a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §34).

[90]Theophanes, 353; Agapius, 492 (adds "and Palestine").

[91]Theophanes, 354; Agapius, 492–93; Michael 11.XIII, 436–37/455. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 599, 608, 617, 626, 637 (AH 54–58/674–78).

[92]Theophanes, 354; Michael 11.XIII, 436/456 (AG 988). Cf. Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 145 (AH 56/676), citing Jacob of Edessa (who has the same wording as Michael).

[93]Agapius, 492; Michael 11.XIII, 436/457 (AG 989).

[94]Theophanes, 354; Michael 11.XIII, 436/457 (AG 990).

[95]Theophanes, 355; Agapius, 492–93; Michael 11.XIII, 437/455; *Chron. 1234*, 1.288. These are the *Jarājima* that feature in Muslim sources (see Lammens, *Mo'âwia I*, 14–22); Michael says they are also called *līpūrē*. Theophanes adds from a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §34) that Mu'āwiya consequently sued for peace.

[96]Theophanes, 356; Agapius, 493; Michael 11.XIII, 436–37/457; *Chron. 1234*, 1.288. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 153 (Sunday, 3 April AG 990/679); *Chron. 819*, 12 (AG 990).

[97]Theophanes, 356; Agapius, 493; Michael 11.XV, 444/468; *Chron. 1234*, 1.288. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 672 (Rajab AH 60/April–May 680).

{Constantine convened an ecumenical synod of 289 bishops at Constantinople, known as the sixth council.}[98]

Constantine deposed his brothers in favour of his son Justinian. A patrician named Leo refused to accept this, so Constantine had his tongue, hands and feet cut off.[99]

[683–85] Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya died. Mukhtār the deceiver had already appeared at Kufa, claiming he was a prophet. Since Yazīd had no adult son to succeed him, the Arabs were in turmoil. Those in Medina and the East proclaimed 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; those in Damascus and Palestine remained loyal to the family of Mu'āwiya; in Syria and Phoenicia they folowed Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays, who came to Damascus and pretended to be fighting for 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. Each country chose someone. In the midst of all this arose Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who proposed drawing lots for the caliphate. His name came up; Ḍaḥḥāk was not content with this, but was defeated by Marwān at Marj Rahiṭ. Marwān ruled for nine months, then was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Malik.[100]

There was a famine and great plague in Syria and Mesopotamia.[101]

[685] Embattled on all fronts, 'Abd al-Malik sought peace with Byzantium. Constantine agreed to a ten-year truce on the condition that the caliph would pay 1000 gold pieces, a horse and a slave daily to the emperor. The tribute of Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia was to be shared by both sides, and the emperor was to recall the Mardaites from Lebanon.[102]

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[98]Theophanes, 360; Agapius, 493–94. The notice is too different in these two sources to be sure whether it belongs to CS.

[99]Theophanes, 360; Agapius, 494; Michael 11.XIII, 437/455–56; *Chron. 1234*, 1.288–89.

[100]Theophanes, 360–61; Agapius, 494–97; Michael 11.XV, 444–45/468–69; *Chron. 1234*, 1.289–92. Agapius and *Chron. 1234* give the fullest account. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 734 (Rabī' I AH 64/November 683: Yazīd's death), 736 (Dhū l-Qa'da 64/June 684: Marwān proclaimed caliph), 756 (Ramaḍān 65/April 685: Marwān's death).

[101]Theophanes, 361; Agapius, 497. Cf. *Ehnesh Inscription*, *s.a.* AG 995 (famine).

[102]Theophanes, 361, 363; Agapius, 497; Michael 11.XV, 445–46/469 and 11.XVI, 447/473; *Chron. 1234*, 1.292. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 13 (AG 996); Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 148 (7 July AH 65/685); for the Muslim sources see Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 122–23. Theophanes, Agapius and Michael have two notices on the peace, sandwiching the notice on Constantine's death. Michael also lists 'Abd al-Malik's ri-

Constantine died and was succeeded as emperor by his son Justinian.[103]

[686–89] 'Abd al-Malik sent Mu'āwiya's brother Ziyād against Mukhtār, but Ziyād was killed. Hearing of this, 'Abd al-Malik went to Mesopotamia, but when he reached Resh'aina he learned that 'Amr ibn Sa'īd had rebelled against him and taken Damascus. The caliph returned, retook the city and killed 'Amr.[104]

[687] There was a famine in Syria and many sought relief in Byzantine territory.[105]

{687–91: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr sent his brother Muṣ'ab against Mukhtār, who was defeated and fled to Syria. Muṣ'ab overtook him and slew him. 'Abd al-Malik attacked and overcame Muṣ'ab, and so all of Persia was subject to him.}[106]

[692] 'Abd al-Malik sent Ḥajjāj to Mecca in pursuit of Ibn al-Zubayr. The latter was defeated and sought refuge in their house of worship. Ḥajjāj used catapults to demolish the enclosing wall and killed Ibn al-

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val contenders: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr in the region of Babylon, 'Umayr ibn al-Hubāb al-Sulamī (*Bar Hwbb*) in Resh'aina, Yazīd ibn Abī Ṣakhr (*Bwryd*) in Nisibis, 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq in Damascus, Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī (*Zwfr*) in Circesium.

[103]Theophanes, 361; Agapius, 497; Michael 11.XVI, 446–47/473; *Chron. 1234*, 1.292. Cf. Nicephorus, §37 ("He died in the seventeenth year of his reign"). There is unfortunately a gap in the manuscript of Agapius from here to the end of 'Abd al-Malik's reign.

[104]Theophanes, 363; *Chron. 1234*, 1.292–93. It was Mu'āwiya's brother's son, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, who fought Mukhtār's general Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar at a battle by the river Khazir near Moṣul. Michael 11.XV, 445/471, who seems to have his account from a different source, says the fighting began on 22 September AG 996/685 and lasted a few days; Muslim sources variously date the conflict to 24 Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 66/22 July 686 and 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686 (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 65). 'Amr ibn Sa'īd's revolt occurred in 688–89 (*ibid.*, 124–28).

[105]Theophanes, 364; Michael 11.XI, 430/446. This famine is dated by the contemporary John bar Penkaye ("in the year 67 of the rule of the Arabs") and by Michael's comment (11.XVI, 447/474) regarding a famine in AG 1005 that "seven years before (so 998) there occurred that great and cruel famine."

[106]This notice is only in Theophanes, 364, but it almost certainly belongs to CS. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 783–84 (Ramaḍān AH 67/April 687: death of Mukhtār), 839–40 (autumn 71 or 72/690 or 691: death of Muṣ'ab); see also Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 134.

Zubayr in the sanctuary, which he subsequently rebuilt.[107] Ḥajjāj was appointed over Persia, Iraq and the Ḥijaz, and Muḥammad ibn Marwān over Mesopotamia and Armenia.[108]

'Abd al-Malik was now free from all opposition.[109]

[696–97] 'Abd al-Malik struck coins without images and with writing on both sides.[110]

[692–93] Justinian sought to resettle the inhabitants of Cyprus in Byzantium, but many were drowned on the way. 'Abd al-Malik considered this a violation of the peace between them and sent his brother Muḥammad to raid Asia Minor. The Arabs won when the Slavic contingent of the Byzantine army defected to them.[111]

{'Abd al-Malik ordered the rebuilding of the temple of Mecca and wanted to use the columns of Gethsemane, but his treasurer Sergius son of Manṣūr and the patrician Klausys persuaded him instead to ask Justinian to send other columns.}[112]

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[107]Theophanes, 364–65; Michael 11.XV, 446/470; *Chron. 1234*, 1.293. Muslim sources date Ibn al-Zubayr's death to Jumādā I or II AH 73/October or November 692 (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 139).

[108]Theophanes, 365; Michael 11.XVI, 448/474; *Chron. 1234*, 1.293.

[109]Theophanes, 365; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296. Theophanes dates this notice to the fifth year of Justinian (689–90) and seventh of 'Abd al-Malik (691–92); *Chron. 1234*, supported by *Chron. Zuqnin*, 154, gives AG 1002/690–91. Of some significance here must be 'Abd al-Malik's minting of coins in AH 72/691–92, and certainly by this time he was in control of every region bar Arabia. But the "year of unity" (*'ām al-jamā'a*) could only be proclaimed with the death in 73/692–93 of the rival caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 140).

[110]Theophanes, 365; Michael 11.XVI, 447/473; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296. This is how the notice appears in Michael and *Chron. 1234*, the former agreeing with *Chron. 819*, 13, that the event occurred in AG 1008. Theophanes only says that the coins were "of a new kind," not specifying that they were aniconic, and connects this with Justinian's breach of the peace and minting of his own new coins. This has been accepted by some numismatists (e.g. Bates, "First Century of Islamic Coinage," 247–48), but if Theophanes is using CS here then the connection he makes is probably his own invention.

[111]Theophanes, 365–66; Michael 11.XV, 446/470; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296. The Arab victory referred to here is the capture of Sebastopolis in AH 73/692 (cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 861; Khalīfa, 270).

[112]Theophanes, 365. This may well have been in CS, but omitted by Dionysius since it shows the Chalcedonian Sergius in a good light; otherwise it was inserted by the continuator of CS used by Theophanes.

Prince Smbat surrendered Armenia to the Arabs.[113]

[696–97] The bandit Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī achieved many successes and almost killed Ḥajjāj himself, but was finally drowned in a river.[114]

[693] There was an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, 5 October, at the third hour.[115]

'Abd al-Malik ordered a slaughter of pigs in Syria.[116]

{695: Justinian was exiled and the patrician Leontius made emperor.

698: Tiberius Apsimarus ousted Leontius and became emperor.}[117]

[699–700] There was a great plague.[118]

[700–701] 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath rebelled against Ḥajjāj, but the latter eventually defeated him with the aid of Muḥammad ibn Marwān.[119]

The Byzantines invaded the region of Samosata and killed many Arabs. They took many captives and much booty.[120]

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[113]Theophanes, 366; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296.

[114]Theophanes, 366–67; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296. *Chron. 819*, 14, erroneously places this notice under AG 1016/704–705; Muslim sources agree on AH 77/696 (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 188–90). See also Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition," 27–28.

[115]Theophanes, 367; Michael 11.XVI, 446–47/474. This is also recorded by *Ehnesh Inscription*, *s.a.* AG 1005; the time is confirmed by Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 137–42.

[116]Theophanes, 367; Michael 11.XVI, 447/475; *Chron. 1234*, 1.296. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 14 (AG 1015). Michael says 'Abd al-Malik's order also included the taking down of crosses.

[117]One assumes that Theophilus would have mentioned these events (cf. Michael 11.XVI, 447–48/473; *Chron. 1234*, 1.297), but Theophanes uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §§40–41), so one cannot be sure.

[118]Theophanes, 371; Michael 11.XVII, 449/480. Cf. *Chron. 819* (AG 1011); Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 154 (AH 79/698, 80/699); Khalīfa, 279 (AH 80). Michael gives AG 1016 (thus also *Chron. Zuqnin*, 155), but situates the notice among those pertaining to *ca.* 700.

[119]Theophanes, 371; Michael 11.XVII, 449–50/478, 450/480, who is rather vague. The revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath chiefly occupied the years AH 81–82/700–701 (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 151–68).

[120]Theophanes, 371; Michael 11.XVI, 448/473–74.

[703] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Asia Minor. He rebuilt and garrisoned Mopsuestia.[121]

The leaders of Armenia rebelled against the Arabs and sent messages to the emperor, who despatched a Byzantine force. Muḥammad ibn Marwān crushed this force and, having resubjected Armenia, gathered the Armenian nobles together and burned them alive.[122]

{Yazīd ibn Ḥunayn campaigned in Cilicia and besieged Sision, but his army was defeated.}[123]

Justinian gained the support of the king of the Khazars, whose daughter he married, and of the Bulgars, and then recovered his throne. He sent a large force to fetch his wife, but they were all drowned, for which the king of the Khazars reproved him.[124]

[705] 'Abd al-Malik died and his son Walīd succeeded him.[125]

[706] Walīd demolished the great church of Damascus and built a mosque in its place. He also ordered the public records to be written no longer in Greek, but in Arabic.[126]

[707–708] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik attacked the city of Tyana and wintered there. Justinian sent an army to try and relieve the siege, but it was defeated and about 40,000 were killed. After nine months the Arabs took the city.[127]

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[121]Theophanes, 372; Michael 11.XVII, 450/477 (AG 1015: capture of Mopsuestia by Maslama), 451/478 (AG 1017: rebuilding and garrisoning); *Chron. 1234*, 1.297 (AG 1013). Cf. *Chron. 819*, 13–14 (AG 1015); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1011 (AH 84/703). Theophanes notes that 'Abd Allāh besieged Taranton, which is confirmed by Khalīfa, 291 (AH 84: *ghazā...ḥattā balagha arḍ Ṭuranda*).

[122]Theophanes, 372; Michael 11.XVI, 449/474; *Chron. 1234*, 1.297. For the date and other references see the entry on "Vahan of Golt'n" in Chapter 9 above.

[123]Only reported by Theophanes, 372, but very likely from CS. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1022 (AH 85/704); Khalīfa, 291 (AH 85: *uṣība al-nās bi-Sūsana*).

[124]Agapius, 498; Michael 11.XVII, 450–51/478; *Chron. 1234*, 1.297–98. Theophanes, 372–75, uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §42).

[125]Theophanes, 374; Agapius, 498; Michael 11.XVII, 451/478; *Chron. 1234*, 1.298. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1035 (Shawwāl AH 86/October 705).

[126]Theophanes, 376; Agapius, 498; Michael 11.XVII, 451/481; *Chron. 1234*, 1.298, 298–99. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1053–54, and Khalīfa, 300 (AH 87/706: mosque of Damascus); see also Excursus F, nos. iv–v, below.

[127]Theophanes, 376–77; Agapius, 498–99; Michael 11.XVII, 451/478; *Chron. 1234*, 1.298. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1064–65, and Khalīfa, 302 (AH 88/707). Theophanes is

[709] 'Abbās ibn al-Walīd raided in Asia Minor. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥayyān raided in Cilicia.[128]

{711: The patrician Philippicus deposed Justinian.}[129]

Philippicus ordered that all Armenians were to be expelled from his realm. Many went to the Arabs, who settled them in Melitene and Samosata.[130]

[711] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Asia Minor and captured many strongholds.[131]

[712] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Asia Minor and captured the city of Amasia and other strongholds.[132]

[713] 'Abbās campaigned in Asia Minor; he captured Pisidian Antioch and withdrew with many prisoners.[133]

There was a violent earthquake on 28 February and many places were ruined in the region of Antioch, Aleppo and Qinnasrin.[134]

The Byzantines deposed Philippicus and gouged out his eyes, then proclaimed Artemius emperor.[135]

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chiefly using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §44). Michael dates the final fall of Tyana to March 708.

[128]Theophanes, 377; Agapius, 499. Theophanes places 'Uthmān's raid in the following year and adds that 'Abbās began to build 'Ayn al-Jarr in Lebanon (thus *Chron. 819*, 14, AG 1016, though naming Walīd I as the builder). The campaign of 'Abbās intended here is probably that of AH 90/709, when he reached as far as Arzun (Caetani, *Chron.*, 1089; Khalīfa, 303).

[129]Though reported by all four authors (Theophanes, 377–81; Agapius, 499; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479; *Chron. 1234*, 1.299), the accounts are too different to be sure of the nature of the notice in CS.

[130]Theophanes, 382; Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 452/482; *Chron. 1234*, 1.299.

[131]Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 451–52/479 (AG 1022). Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1120 (AH 92/711). *Chron. 819*, 14 (AG 1021), amalgamates this with the following notice, but Muslim sources and CS make clear that they are distinct campaigns. Michael names three of the strongholds taken as *Ṭybrnda*, Gargarum and *Ṭwndā*.

[132]Theophanes, 382; Agapius, 499; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479; *Chron. 1234*, 1.299. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1133 (AH 93/712).

[133]Theophanes, 383; Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1147 (AH 94/713).

[134]Theophanes, 383; Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 451/481; *Chron. 1234*, 1.299–300. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 15 (28 February AG 1024).

[135]Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479; *Chron. 1234*, 1.299. Theophanes, 383, uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §48).

Maslama campaigned in Asia Minor; he entered Galatia, captured many strongholds and withdrew with many prisoners.[136]

[715] Walīd died and Sulaymān succeeded him.[137]

Artemius despatched troops to the West to fight his enemies, but they mutinied and proclaimed a certain Theodosius emperor, so Artemius fled to Nicaea. Theodosius proceeded to Constantinople and its inhabitants received him as emperor. Artemius was banished.[138]

[716–18] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik led an expedition against Constantinople. He sent Sulaymān ibn Mu'ādh and Bakhtarī ibn al-Ḥasan with numerous troops by land and 'Umar ibn Ḥubayra with many ships by sea. A patrician named Leo went to Sulaymān ibn Mu'ādh and promised to help him enter Constantinople. Sulaymān introduced him to Maslama, who promised to make him emperor. On hearing of this, Theodosius despatched a force against Leo, but the latter won the soldiers over to him, marched on Constantinople and deposed Theodosius, becoming emperor himself. Maslama awaited the fulfilment of Leo's part of the deal; when he saw this was not forthcoming, he went and besieged the Byzantine capital for a whole year. The Arabs became desperately short of food and, after the death of the caliph Sulaymān, were recalled by his successor 'Umar.[139]

{Maslama returned by sea with the survivors, but then they were caught at sea by a storm and most of their ships sunk.}[140]

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[136]Theophanes, 383; Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1147–48 (AH 94/713).

[137]Theophanes, 384; Agapius, 500; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479; *Chron. 1234*, 1.300. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1176 (Jumādā II AH 96/Febrary 715).

[138]Agapius, 501; Michael 11.XVII, 452/479; *Chron. 1234*, 1.300. Theophanes, 385–86, uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §§50–51).

[139]Theophanes, 386–90, 395–99; Agapius, 501–502; Michael 11.XVIII, 453–55/483–86; *Chron. 1234*, 1.300–307. Michael abbreviates CS somewhat, Agapius very much; Theophanes, 386–91, 395–99, excerpts from CS, but chiefly uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §§53–54). Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 156–59 (AG 1028); *Chron. 819*, 15 (AG 1027–28); Ṭabarī, 2.1316 (AH 98), who also records the deal made between Maslama and Leo and the latter's subsequent deception. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1193–94, 1208–10, 1223–24 (97–99 AH/716–18: siege of Constantinople), 1222 (Ṣafar AH 99/September–October 717: death of Sulaymān).

[140]Theophanes, 399; Michael 11.XVIII, 455/486; *Chron. 1234*, 1.307. This very likely belongs to CS, but because Theophanes seems to be using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §56), one cannot be sure.

There was a violent earthquake.[141]

'Umar was a good and pious man. He decreed that every Christian who became a Muslim would not have to pay poll-tax, and many apostatised. He ruled that a Christian's testimony against a Muslim was inadmissable and forbade wine and fermented drinks to Muslims. He also sent a doctrinal letter to Leo summoning him to Islam.[142]

The patrician Nicetas Xylinites wrote to the exiled Artemius, inciting him to move against Leo. Artemius accepted this and, having acquired troops from the king of the Bulgars, marched on Constantinople. But the Byzantines did not receive him, and so the Bulgars handed him over to Leo, who executed him along with some other patricians favourable to Artemius.[143]

[720] 'Umar died and Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik became caliph.[144]

Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab rebelled in Iraq and the Arabs of the East rallied to him. Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik engaged him in battle by Babylon and killed him.[145]

A Syrian named Severus from the district of Mardin proclaimed to the Jews that he was the Messiah. By his trickery he gained much gold from them, but the caliph Yazīd had him executed.[146]

Leo sought to convert to Christianity all those in his empire who adhered to another confession. Many Jews were baptised and they were called "new citizens."[147]

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[141]Theophanes, 399; Agapius, 502; Michael 11.XIX, 455/490. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 15 (24 December AG 1029/717); Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 1.161–62 (Jumādā I AH 99/December 717). Theophanes links this with 'Umar's actions in the next notice.

[142]Theophanes, 399; Agapius, 502–503; Michael 11.XIX, 456/488–89; *Chron. 1234*, 1.307–308. Only Theophanes and Agapius mention 'Umar's letter; *Chron. 1234* has added material drawn from the so-called Covenant of 'Umar.

[143]Theophanes, 400–401; Agapius, 503. Theophanes is chiefly using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §57).

[144]Theophanes, 401; Agapius, 504; Michael 11.XIX, 456/489; *Chron. 1234*, 1.308. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1261 (Rajab AH 101/February 720).

[145]Theophanes, 401; Agapius, 504; Michael 11.XIX, 457/489; *Chron. 1234*, 1.308. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1281 (Ṣafar AH 102/August 720).

[146]Theophanes, 401; Agapius, 504; Michael 11.XIX, 456/490; *Chron. 1234*, 1.308. Cf. *Chron. Hisp. 754*, §60 (= Pereira/Wolf, §74); *Chron. Zuqnin*, 172–74 (places the incident in the time of Hishām).

[147]Theophanes, 401; Agapius, 504; Michael 11.XIX, 457/489–90; *Chron. 1234*, 1.308.

{Yazīd ordered the destruction of images.}[148]

[721–22] 'Abbās ibn al-Walīd engaged in raiding in Paphlagonia and took many captives. Upon his return he ravaged Cilicia and captured a stronghold.[149]

[724] Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik died; after him Hishām ruled over the Arabs. He built palaces in every place, diverted the waters of the Euphrates above Callinicum for irrigation, created many plantations and estates, and his revenues exceeded the taxes which he received from the whole empire.[150]

Kathīr ibn Rabī'a campaigned in Asia Minor, but was defeated and escaped with only a few men.[151]

[726] Leo ordered the removal of images from churches and houses. When Pope Gregory heard of this, he stopped the tribute from Italy and Rome.[152]

Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Asia Minor and captured Cappadocian Caesarea.[153]

There was a severe plague in Syria.[154]

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[148]This is mentioned by Theophanes, 401–402, and Dionysius (in Michael 11.XIX, 457/489, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.308), but in a very different vein, so one cannot be sure if it featured in CS. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 163 (AG 1035); *Chron. 819*, 16; see also Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II."

[149]Agapius, 505; Michael 11.XIX, 457/489; *Chron. 1234*, 1.308–309. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1296–97 (AH 103/721–22). Dionysius names the stronghold *shyzā*, perhaps the Sision mentioned earlier by Theophanes, 372.

[150]Theophanes, 403; Agapius, 505; Michael 11.XIX, 457/490; *Chron. 1234*, 1.309. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1321–22 (Sha'bān AH 105/January 724: death of Yazīd II); *Chron. Zuqnin*, 171, and *Chron. 819*, 16 (Hishām's building).

[151]Theophanes, 403; Agapius, 505, who alone gives the general's name.

[152]Theophanes, 404; Agapius, 506; Michael 11.XIX, 456–57/491. Theophanes is also using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §60, who makes Leo's decision a consequence of a volcanic eruption in the Aegean in the summer of indiction 9/726).

[153]Theophanes, 404; Agapius, 506; Michael 11.XIX, 457/490; *Chron. 1234*, 1.309. The latter three (and *Chron. 819*, 17, AG 1037) speak of Neocaesarea in Pontus, but Cappadocian Caesarea must be meant. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 171 (AG 1040); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1361 (summer AH 108/726). Khalīfa, 337, and Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 164, agree on AH 107/725.

[154]Theophanes, 404; Agapius, 506; Michael 11.XIX, 456/491. Cf. *Chron. 819*, 16 (AG 1036).

Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor, but achieved nothing.[155]

[727] Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor; he captured Gangra in Paphlagonia and besieged Nicaea in Bithynia.[156]

[728] Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor and took the stronghold of Ateous.[157]

[730] The son of the Khagan, king of the Khazars, attacked Azerbaijan and other provinces. Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh, governor of Armenia, engaged him, but was defeated.[158]

Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik invaded the land of the Khazars. When they joined battle, many were killed on both sides; Maslama became fearful and withdrew.[159]

Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor and took the stronghold of Kharsianon.[160]

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[155]Theophanes, 404; Agapius, 506. CS records six occasions on which Mu'āwiya led a campaign into Asia Minor; Muslim sources have him do so every year AH 107–18/725–36. When some specific place was attacked (Gangra and Nicaea, Kharsianon), it is possible to match up CS and the Muslim sources, but otherwise it is uncertain.

[156]Theophanes, 405–406; Agapius, 506; Michael 11.XXI, 462–63/501; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Theophanes, drawing on a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §61), mentions a certain *Amer* with Mu'āwiya; Muslim sources speak of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṭṭāl, who may perhaps have had the forename 'Amr/'Āmir/'Umayr (or the Greek source may have understood the title *amīr* as a name). Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1374 (AH 109/727). Khalīfa, 338, and Elias of Nisibis, *Chronicle*, 164, agree on AH 108, but since Nicephorus places it in the summer after the eruption of 726, then 109/727 seems more likely.

[157]Theophanes, 407; *Chron. 1234*, 1.309. Only Theophanes names the place, which Arab sources variously render as *Ghaṭāsīn* (Khalīfa, 339, AH 109), *'Atāsīn* (Ibn Khurdadhbih, *Masālik*, 103) and *Ṭīna/Ṭība* (Ṭabarī, 2.1495).

[158]Theophanes, 407; Agapius, 506; Michael 11.XXI, 462/501; *Chron. 1234*, 1.309–10. Cf. also *Chron. Zuqnin*, 169–70 (AG 1043); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1416 (AH 112/730).

[159]Theophanes, 407; Agapius, 507; Michael 11.XXI, 462/501; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 168–69 (AG 1042); *Chron. 819*, 17 (AG 1039); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1416 (winter AH 112/730); Khalīfa, 343 (Shawwāl 112/December 730).

[160]Theophanes, 409; Agapius, 507; Michael 11.XXI, 463/501. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1417, and Khalīfa, 343 (summer AH 112/730). Theophanes wrongly names the general as Maslama.

[731–32] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik marched against the Turks and withdrew after reaching the Caspian gates.[161]

Leo betrothed the daughter of the Khagan to his son Constantine and had her baptised.[162]

Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor reaching as far as Paphlagonia, and he took many prisoners.[163]

Hishām appointed Marwān ibn Muḥammad as governor of Armenia.[164]

[733] There was a plague in Syria.[165]

Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor.[166]

There was a sign in the sky which shone like a flame/sword of fire.[167]

[735] Sulaymān ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor, but returned without having achieved anything.[168]

[737] Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor; on the return he fell off his horse and died.[169]

A prisoner from Paphlagonia claimed he was Tiberius, son of Justinian, and this was reported to Sulaymān ibn Hishām, who passed it on to his father. In order to raise his son's standing with the Arabs and to terrify the Byzantine emperor, Hishām had the pretender clothed in

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[161]Theophanes, 409; Agapius, 507; Michael 11.XXI, 462/501. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 169, 170 (AG 1043); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1428, 1438 (AH 113/731, 114/732).

[162]Theophanes, 409–10; Agapius, 507; Michael 11.XXI, 463/501; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Nicephorus, §63.

[163]Theophanes, 410; Agapius, 507; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1439 (AH 114/732); Khalīfa, 345 (AH 114), 346 (AH 115: *intahā ilā Aflājūniya*, presumably Paphlagonia).

[164]Agapius, 507; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1438, and Khalīfa, 345 (AH 114/732).

[165]Theophanes, 410; Michael 11.XXI, 463/504 (AG 1040). Cf. also Caetani, *Chron.*, 1450 (AH 115/733). Agapius, 508, mentions a plague in Palestine and Egypt.

[166]Theophanes, 410; Agapius, 507; *Chron 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1450 (AH 115/733).

[167]Theophanes, 410; Agapius, 508; Michael 11.XXII, 465/507.

[168]Theophanes, 410; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1471 (AH 117/735).

[169]Theophanes, 410; Agapius, 508; *Chron. 1234*, 1.310. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1502 (AH 119/737); but Khalīfa, 353, has Mu'āwiya campaign for a last time in AH 122/740.

royal garb and ordered him to tour Syria and Mesopotamia for all to see him.[170]

[738] Sulaymān ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor and captured the stronghold of Sideron.[171]

[739] Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Asia Minor and took many prisoners; Hishām went to Melitene.[172]

[740] Zayd ibn 'Alī revolted at Kufa.[173]

The inhabitants of Africa rose in revolt and killed their governor.[174]

Sulaymān ibn Hishām campaigned in Asia Minor with Ghamr ibn Yazīd, Mālik ibn Shu'ayb and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṭṭāl. The latter two were killed and their forces routed.[175]

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[170]Theophanes, 411; Michael 11.XXI, 462–63/503–504; *Chron. 1234*, 1.311–12. Dionysius of Tellmaḥre calls the pretender Bishr; Theophanes, 402, 405, mentions a certain Beser, a Christian prisoner in Syria who had become a Muslim, then approached the emperor and become his ally in the promotion of iconoclasm. Scholars usually identify the two, but they have different origins (Pergamum and Paphlagonia) and different deaths (*Chron. 1234*, 1.312: crucifixion at Edessa by Sulaymān; Theophanes, 414: slain by the sword of the general Artabasdus), so Dionysius may have confused two accounts, wrongly associating the Paphlagonian with Beser.

[171]Theophanes, 411; Agapius, 508; *Chron. 1234*, 1.312. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 171–72 (AG 1045); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1511 (AH 120/738).

[172]Agapius, 508; *Chron. 1234*, 1.312. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1524, and Khalīfa, 352 (AH 121/739).

[173]Agapius, 509; *Chron. 1234*, 1.312. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1531–32 (AH 122/740). The report of Theophanes, 412, that "the markets in Damascus were burned by the Iraqis," may have some connection with this.

[174]Theophanes, 411; Agapius, 509. This refers to the great Berber revolt which began in AH 122/740 (Caetani, *Chron.*, 1536–37) and in the course of which the governor Kulthūm ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī was killed in AH 123 or 124 (*ibid.*, 1553, 1561; Khalīfa, 354–56). As is implied by Theophanes, who refers to him as *Damaskēnos*, Kulthūm was a Syrian and had been governor of Damascus for Hishām (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 128).

[175]Theophanes, 411; Agapius, 509. Agapius says that plague and famine depleted the Arabs' numbers and prompted some to flee to the Byzantines and become Christians. Theophanes gives a detailed account, probably from a Byzantine source (one cannot be sure since it is not transmitted by Nicephorus); he dates the campaign to May of the eighth indiction, namely 740. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 172 (AG 1046); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1534, and Khalīfa, 353 (AH 122/740).

Heavy rains caused flooding and the walls of Edessa were breached.[176]

There was a severe earthquake at Constantinople.[177]

Hishām received a false report that Leo had killed all the Arab prisoners held in Byzantine lands and so, without checking, ordered that all the Byzantine captives in his realm be killed. Among them was Eustathius son of Marianus, who was held at Ḥarran.[178]

[741] Leo died; his son Constantine reigned after him.[179]

There was civil war between Constantine and the pretender Artabasdus.[180]

[742] Sulaymān ibn Hishām took advantage of the Byzantines' involvement to raid Paphlagonia and he took many prisoners.[181]

[743] Hishām died and his nephew Walīd ibn Yazīd succeeded him. Both Constantine and the rebel Artabasdus sent envoys to him seeking favour.[182]

There was a drought and famine, and also an earthquake in the desert of Saba during which villages were swallowed up.[183]

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[176]Theophanes, 412; Agapius, 509; Michael 11.XXI, 463/504–505; *Chron. 1234*, 1.312. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 176–77 (AG 1054).

[177]Agapius, 509; Michael 11.XXI, 463/504. Theophanes, 412, is using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §63).

[178]Theophanes, 414; Michael 11.XXI, 463/501; *Chron. 1234*, 1.313. Dionysius says that many were unsure whether those killed could be considered true martyrs or not.

[179]Agapius, 509; Michael 11.XXI, 463/502; *Chron. 1234*, 1.313. Theophanes, 412–13, uses a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §64), which gives the date of Leo's death as 18 June, ninth indiction/741.

[180]Agapius, 510; Michael 11.XXI, 463/502; *Chron. 1234*, 1.313–14. Theophanes, 414–15, is using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §64); Dionysius gives a fairly full account, but Agapius is extremely brief.

[181]Theophanes, 415; Agapius, 510. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1558–59 (AH 124/742). Agapius, 509, mentions two earlier raids of Sulaymān, which were both disastrous, one ending in the defection to Byzantium and conversion to Christianity of a large number of his men.

[182]Theophanes, 416; Agapius, 510; Michael 11.XXI, 463/502; *Chron. 1234*, 1.314. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1573–74, 1583 (Rabīʿ II AH 125/February 743). Dionysius gives here a notice on ʿAbbās ibn al-Walīd, claiming that he coveted the caliphate for himself.

[183]Theophanes, 416; Agapius, 510; Michael 11.XXII, 464–65/506–507; *Chron. 1234*, 1.314. By Saba is meant Sheba, south Arabia.

In Yemen monkeys attacked people, drove them from their dwellings and killed many.[184]

Ghamr ibn Yazīd campaigned in Asia Minor.[185]

In June there appeared a sign in the sky in the form of three columns and like a flame of fire; then it was seen again in September.[186]

The metropolitan of Damascus was accused before Walīd of blaspheming the Arab faith, and Walīd ordered his tongue cut out and that he be exiled to Yemen.[187]

Walīd resettled the inhabitants of Cyprus in Syria.[188]

In January a sign appeared in the sky in the shape of a moon, and from March to April dust filled the atmosphere with darkness.[189]

[744] Yazīd "the deficient" went in secret to Damascus and took it, and from the royal treasury distributed money to his followers. He then sent troops under the command of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥajjāj to fight with the caliph Walīd, whom they killed at Tadmur (Palmyra). His head was put on a lance and paraded around Damascus. Yazīd also imprisoned the latter's sons, 'Uthmān and Ḥakam.[190]

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[184]Agapius, 511; Michael 11.XXII, 465/507.

[185]Theophanes, 416; Agapius, 511, who wrongly gives the name of the general as 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1575 (AH 125/743).

[186]Theophanes, 416; Agapius, 511; Michael 11.XXII, 465/507; *Chron. 1234*, 1.314.

[187]Theophanes, 416; Michael 11.XXII, 464/506; *Chron. 1234*, 1.314. See the entry on "Peter of Capitolias" in Chapter 9 above.

[188]Theophanes, 417; Agapius, 511, who specifies "*al-Māḥūr*, which is on the sea coast between Tyre and Sidon" (Sauvaget, "Notes de topographie omeyyade," 97–98, says this is *al-Māḥūz*, just north of Beirut, where an inscription was found, probably commemorating the building by Walīd II of a town for these emigrants). Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 154 ("because of some matter he suspected them of"); Ṭabarī, 2.1769 (AH 125), who says the Cypriots were given a choice of going to Syria or Byzantium.

[189]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 511; Michael 11.XXII, 465/507; *Chron. 1234*, 1.314. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 195 (AG 1054).

[190]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 511–12; Michael 11.XXI, 463–64/502; *Chron. 1234*, 1.315–16. The latter says that when the revolt broke out, Walīd was revelling at the fortress of Bakhra' near Tadmur, but Muslim sources say he only went there after he had heard of Yazīd's capture of Damascus (Ṭabarī, 2.1796–97). CS makes 'Abbās ibn al-Walīd instrumental in the revolt of his brother Yazīd (Theophanes, 421; Michael 11.XXI, 463–64/502; *Chron. 1234*, 1.315), whereas Muslim sources have him dissuading Yazīd from rebellion and only joining him once Walīd's defeat was imminent (Ṭabarī, 2.1784–85, 1787, 1797–99). *Chron.*

When they heard of the killing of Walīd, confusion arose among the Arabs.[191]

Marwān ibn Muḥammad left Armenia for Mesopotamia, seeking to avenge the blood of Walīd.[192]

After reigning five months Yazīd III died, leaving his brother Ibrāhīm as his successor in Damascus.[193]

Marwān came to Ḥarran claiming that he was fighting on behalf of the sons of Walīd. Hearing of his coming, Ibrāhīm sent 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥajjāj to subdue Ḥimṣ and Masrūr to reinforce his brother Bishr in Aleppo. Marwān captured Aleppo and took prisoner Masrūr and Bishr. On learning of this, 'Abd al-'Azīz withdrew from Ḥimṣ.[194]

1234 also makes Abrash, brother of Yazīd and 'Abbās, a participant in the plot against Walīd, which again is unknown to Muslim sources, except that he appears to go over to Yazīd when Walīd's defeat is imminent (Ṭabarī, 2.1805; though cf. 2.1896). The parading of Walīd's head around Damascus is confirmed by Muslim sources, which date his death to Thursday, 27 Jumādā II AH 126/16 April 744 (Caetani, *Chron.*, 1595–96, 1608). Theophanes alone of Christian sources gives this same day and date, probably inserted by the continuator of CS.

[191]Agapius, 512; Michael 11.XXI, 464/503; *Chron. 1234*, 1.316. The latter is more explicit, narrating how the people of Ḥimṣ refused allegiance to Yazīd (thus Ṭabarī, 2.1826–31) and listing the various rebels and power-brokers in the Muslim realm (also in Michael 11.XXI, 464/502–503): in the West, Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, *Sksy* (perhaps Mu'āwiya al-Saksakī) and Sulaymān ibn Hishām; in Mesopotamia, Bisṭām al-Bayhasī; in Moṣul, Sa'īd ibn Bahdal, head of the *Mūrgāyē* (this better describes Ibn Surayj, whereas Ibn Bahdal was a Kharijite); in Persia, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (governor of Iraq for Yazīd III); in Armenia, Marwān ibn Muḥammad; in Khurasan, Ḥārith ibn Surayj; in Africa, Abū Hudhayl.

[192]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 512; *Chron. 1234*, 1.317.

[193]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 513; Michael 11.XXI, 464/503; *Chron. 1234*, 1.316–17. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1609 (Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 126/September–October 744). Dionysius says that Yazīd died of a brain tumour and that Ibrāhīm was of good repute, but was unable to establish his rule because of Marwān, "the most wicked of all men, perverse and devoid of all compassion." From here until the end of CS, Michael only gives a very abbreviated account of Muslim affairs.

[194]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 513; *Chron. 1234*, 1.317. This is the account of Agapius, which is the same as that related by Khalīfa, 372–73, and Ṭabarī, 2.1876–77 (though Agapius has made Bishr and Masrūr sons of Ḥajjāj ibn 'Abd al-Malik, whereas they were sons of Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik and so brothers of Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm). *Chron. 1234*, 1.317, has Masrūr besieging Ḥimṣ instead of 'Abd al-'Azīz and says that Masrūr was routed by Marwān's son 'Ubayd Allāh.

The Ḥimṣis welcomed and gave allegiance to Marwān when he arrived at their city. The latter then marched on Damascus, but was met by Sulaymān ibn Hishām, who had been sent by Ibrāhīm. The two sides met by the river Litani near 'Ayn al-Jarr. By a ploy Marwān defeated Sulaymān and killed 12,000 of his men.[195]

Sulaymān escaped with his retinue to Damascus and then fled to Ruṣafa with much money from the treasury. 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥajjāj entered the prison and killed the two sons of Walīd ibn Yazīd, but was himself killed when the inhabitants of the city set fire to his house.[196]

Marwān marched on Damascus, and its inhabitants opened the gates and gave allegiance to him. He ordered Yazīd's body to be exhumed and hung up, and he mutilated, killed or exiled those who had been involved in the murder of Walīd. He had the monies of the imperial treasury collected and transferred to Ḥarran.[197]

Constantine entered Constantinople and had the rebel Artabasdus killed.[198]

[745] In January a great comet appeared in Syria.[199]

Thābit ibn Nu'aym rebelled in the West, and in Kufa there was the revolt of Ḍaḥḥāk the Kharijite.[200]

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[195]Theophanes, 418; Agapius, 513–14; Michael 11.XXII, 464/505; *Chron. 1234*, 1.317. Theophanes mentions 20,000 dead rather than 12,000; Michael locates the battle "on the banks of the Euphrates." Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 189; Caetani, *Chron.*, 1617–18 (7 Ṣafar AH 127/18 November 744).

[196]Theophanes, 418–19; Agapius, 514, 515; *Chron. 1234*, 1.317–18. Theophanes says that Sulaymān killed the sons of Walīd; Khalīfa, 373, and Ṭabarī, 2.1878–79, say the decision was taken by a number of leading men, including Sulaymān and 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the murder carried out by Yazīd ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī or his client.

[197]Theophanes, 419; Agapius, 514–15; Michael 11.XXII, 464/505; *Chron. 1234*, 1.318. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 190 (transfer of treasury); Caetani, *Chron.*, 1617–18 (26 Ṣafar AH 127/7 December 744: Marwān proclaimed caliph).

[198]Agapius, 515; Michael 11.XXII, 465/506. Theophanes, 419–21, is using a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §66), which dates Constantine's recapture of Constantinople to 2 November of the twelfth indiction/743.

[199]Theophanes, 421; Agapius, 515; Michael 11.XXII, 465/507–508. Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, 294, confirms that there was a comet in January 745.

[200]Theophanes, 421; Agapius, 515–16; *Chron. 1234*, 1.318–19, 319. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1615, 1618–19 (AH 127/745).

{Marwān allowed the Christians of the East to take Theophylact bar Qanbara as the patriarch of Antioch.}[201]

When the winter had passed, Marwān set out from Ḥarran. He received messages from Ibrāhīm and Sulaymān ibn Hishām seeking peace and security, and he granted them that.[202]

Marwān crossed the Euphrates and marched against Thābit. On learning of this, the latter went and encamped at Tiberias. As Marwān approached Ḥimṣ, one of its inhabitants rallied together his fellow tribesmen of Kalb and revolted, but Marwān defeated them, ordered that their slain be crucified and breached a part of the city walls.[203]

The Tiberians fought with Thābit and killed many of his men. He fled with a few followers and his sons to Sinai, but they were captured by the troops of Marwān; they had their right hand and left foot amputated and were then crucified on the Jabiya gate of Damascus.[204]

Marwān left Damascus for Circesium. Sulaymān ibn Hishām asked if he could rest with his troops at Ruṣafa, but while Marwān was at Circesium Sulaymān revolted against him with the Arabs of Syria. Hearing of this, Marwān set out to meet him and when they came together, Sulaymān was defeated and 7000 of his men killed, and he himself fled to Tadmur in the desert.[205]

A number of Sulaymān's followers took refuge in a fortress of his on the Euphrates. Marwān sent troops to subdue them and had them mutilated; they numbered about 400.[206]

[746] The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ revolted once more against Marwān and repaired the breach in the wall made by the caliph. He besieged

[201]Theophanes, 421; Michael 11.XXII, 467/511. The two accounts are different (e.g. Michael relates at length Theophylact's dealings with the Maronites) and so may be from different sources.

[202]Agapius, 515, 517 (misplaced); *Chron. 1234*, 1.320. Cf. Khalīfa, 374, and Ṭabarī, 2.1893 (AH 127).

[203]Theophanes, 421; Agapius, 516; Michael 11.XXII, 465/505; *Chron. 1234*, 1.320. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1618–19 (summer AH 127/745).

[204]Agapius, 516–17; *Chron. 1234*, 1.320. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2.1894–96 (AH 127).

[205]Theophanes, 422; Agapius, 517; *Chron. 1234*, 1.320–21. All three give the figure of 7000. The detail of Sulaymān asking to rest at Ruṣafa is given only by Agapius, but corroborated by Ṭabarī, 2.1897, 1908.

[206]Agapius, 517–18; *Chron. 1234*, 1.321. Cf. Ṭabarī, 2.1909–11.

them for four months, at the end of which hunger forced them to submit to him.[207]

Marwān sent part of his army with his son 'Abd Allāh to Nisibis, since he had heard that Ḍaḥḥāk was proceeding there from Kufa; another part he sent with Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayra to Circesium; and he gave instructions that whichever of them did not meet Ḍaḥḥāk should go and take Iraq.[208]

Ḍahhāk marched on Moṣul and killed its governor, then went and besieged Nisibis. So Ibn Hubayra went to Iraq, killed the followers and family of Ḍaḥḥāk and subjugated all the East.[209]

Taking advantage of this infighting among the Arabs, the emperor made an incursion into Syria, reaching as far as Duluk, and returned with many prisoners.[210]

From the tenth to the fifteenth of August it was dark and gloomy, but it was not an eclipse.[211]

Marwān proceeded to Nisibis to meet Ḍaḥḥāk, with whom was Sulaymān ibn Hishām and his followers. A battle took place between Resh'aina and Kafartuta; many were killed on both sides, including Ḍaḥḥāk. The Kharijites then chose as their leader Khaybarī, who made a sudden attack on Marwān's camp, slaying many of his men. Marwān

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[207]Theophanes, 422; Agapius, 518, 519; Michael 11.XXII, 465/505; *Chron. 1234*, 1.320. Dionysius has conflated this revolt of the Ḥimṣis with the previous one. Theophanes and Dionysius give the length of the siege as four months; this fits well with Agapius' statement that the siege was begun in spring and with Wāqidī's assertion (in Ṭabarī, 2.1942) that Ḥimṣ was taken in Shawwāl 128 AH/July 746 (though *ibid.*, 2.1912, says the siege lasted ten months).

[208]Theophanes, 422; Agapius, 518; *Chron. 1234*, 1.321. The latter two have much the same account for the events of the Abbasid revolution (from the killing of Walīd II to the accession of Abū l-'Abbās), and from this point on they also frequently have much the same phrasing.

[209]Agapius, 519; *Chron. 1234*, 1.321. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1634–35, and Khalīfa, 378–79, 382–83 (AH 128/746).

[210]Theophanes, 422 (*Doulichia*); Agapius, 519 (*Dlwk*). Theophanes adds that he took Germanicea (thus also Nicephorus, §67; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 189).

[211]Theophanes, 422; Agapius, 520. Both writers then say that Marwān demolished the walls of certain cities (the former names these as Heliopolis, Damascus and Jerusalem; the latter refers to Ḥimṣ and Heliopolis, agreeing with Michael 11.XXII, 465/505).

himself would have been killed had not his son 'Abd Allāh returned with his troops and killed Khaybarī and his men.[212]

[746–47] The Kharijites elected as their leader a man named Shaybān and they then marched to Moṣul. Marwān followed them and skirmished with them for a few months by the Tigris, after which time the Kharijites withdrew. Marwān sent 'Āmir ibn Ḍubāra to pursue them and returned himself to Ḥarran.[213]

In January there was a violent earthquake along the Palestinian littoral.[214]

A man named Abū Muslim began to preach revolt and won many over to his ideas. He had fourteen close followers; they wore black, practised asceticism, let their hair grow long and showed partisanship for the descendants of Muḥammad. Many of the people of Khurasan joined them and they became a big party. They gave allegiance to Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad.[215]

[749] When Marwān heard of this, he sent 'Āmir ibn Ḍubāra against them. He met the Khurasanis near Iṣfahan, but was defeated and killed.[216]

Ibn Hubayra gathered a large army and camped near Ctesiphon. When the Khurasanis came and engaged with him, he fled to a place between the Tigris and Euphrates. The Khurasanis marched after him,

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[212]Theophanes, 422 (very brief); Agapius, 520; *Chron. 1234*, 1.321–22. The latter says that the battle between Khaybarī and Marwān occurred on 6 October, presumably in 746 (at the beginning of AH 129); Ḍaḥḥāk's siege of Nisibis must have taken place at the end of AH 128 (Khalīfa, 378, says it lasted about two months). This would explain why Muslim chroniclers place Marwān's dealings with the Kharijites in either AH 128 or 129. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 190–91 (AG 1058).

[213]Agapius, 521; Michael 11.XXII, 465/505 (only an allusion); *Chron. 1234*, 1.322–23. Agapius says the skirmishing lasted two months, *Chron. 1234* says eight, Ṭabarī, 2.1944, says six.

[214]Theophanes, 422; Agapius, 521. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 191 (AG 1059). It is not clear whether this is a confusion with the great earthquake of 749 or an earlier tremor.

[215]Agapius, 521–22; *Chron. 1234*, 1.323–24, which also gives information on Abū Muslim's early career. From this point on the continuator of CS, used by Theophanes for eastern affairs, seems to add new material.

[216]Agapius, 522; Michael 11.XXII, 465/505 (only an allusion and misapplied to Marwān); *Chron. 1234*, 1.324. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1680–81 (Rajab AH 131/March 749: battle of Jabalq).

but he went and shut himself in Wasiṭ, where he had already collected much wealth and goods. The Khurasanis then plundered his camp.[217]

The family of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad were all at Kufa when Marwān sent troops to capture Ibrāhīm, who was then emprisoned at Ḥarran. He died in prison, having designated his brother 'Abd Allāh, called Abū l-'Abbās, as his successor. Abū Salama came to the latter in his refuge at Kufa and, together with the Khurasanis present, proclaimed him caliph.[218]

When Abū l-'Abbās became king, he sent a part of the army of the Khurasanis with Abū 'Awn to Assyria, and a part with Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba against Ibn Hubayra in Wasiṭ. Hearing of this, Marwān despatched his son 'Abd Allāh to Assyria to engage the Khurasanis and 'Ubayd Allāh, his other son, to Circesium.[219]

{There was a severe earthquake in Syria, Jordan and Palestine.}[220]

[750] A son was born to the emperor Constantine from the daughter of the Khagan, king of the Khazars, and he named him Leo.[221]

Abū l-'Abbās sent his elder brother 'Abd Allāh, called Abū Ja'far, to join the Khurasanis with Ibn Qaḥṭaba and to take command, and he sent his uncle 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī to join the Khurasanis with Abū 'Awn and to take command. Abū Ja'far proceeded to Wasiṭ and found Ibn Qaḥṭaba besieging it, but avoiding combat. So Abū Ja'far urged an assault upon the city, and there was a protracted battle.[222]

Marwān assembled the troops of Syria and headed for Assyria. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī came with the Khurasanis and encamped on the river

[217]Agapius, 522–23; *Chron. 1234*, 1.324. Cf. Ṭabarī, 3.11–18 (end AH 131 and beginning of 132/summer 749).

[218]Agapius, 523; *Chron. 1234*, 1.324–25. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1695–96 (autumn AH 132/749: Abū l-'Abbās proclaimed caliph).

[219]Agapius, 523; *Chron. 1234*, 1.325.

[220]This is related by Dionysius (in Michael 11.XXII, 466–67/508–10, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.326–28) at great length, and by Theophanes, 426, from a different source. Agapius and Theophanes have an earlier mention of an earthquake, which may be distinct from this one (see above under the year 747).

[221]Theophanes, 426; Michael 11.XXII, 465/506; *Chron. 1234*, 1.325. The wording is almost the same in each case, but the notice is too short to be sure of a common source. Theophanes dates this to 25 January of the third indiction/750.

[222]Agapius, 523–24; *Chron. 1234*, 1.328.

Zab; 'Abd Allāh ibn Marwān also arrived there and camped on the west bank facing 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī. Neither side sought an engagement, waiting for the arrival of Marwān. When he came, he ordered his son to cross the river and camp on the east bank, and to encircle his camp with a ditch. Marwān himself camped on the west bank, constructed a bridge over the Zab and prepared his troops, both cavalry and infantry, for battle. When the two sides came together, Marwān found the Khurasanis like a solid wall. The battle was protracted and eventually the Syrians lost heart and fled, pursued by their opponents. Many were drowned in the river, others were cut down or taken prisoner by the Khurasanis. The latter plundered the camp of Marwān, who himself fled with his son to Ḥarran.[223]

The rule now passed from the family of Umayya to the family of Hāshim, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, who is Abū l-'Abbās, began to reign.[224]

Marwān assembled his family and clients and loaded his possessions on 3000 camels, then crossed the Euphrates and went to Ascalon. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī marched on Ḥarran and ordered the destruction of Marwān's palaces there, then he handed over the government of Mesopotamia to Mūsā ibn Ka'b and set off in pursuit of Marwān.[225]

When Walīd ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Marwān, who was at Damascus, heard of the approach of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, he fortified himself in the city as he had been commissioned to do by Marwān, who hoped thereby to win time to rally troops. 'Abd Allāh set about besieging Damascus and placed ladders against the walls. The supporters of Walīd strove against those trying to scale the walls, but the soldiers of 'Abd Allāh eventually entered and initiated a great slaughter for three hours until

[223]Agapius, 524–26; Michael 11.XXII, 465/505–506; *Chron. 1234*, 1.328–30; Theophanes, 425. Agapius and *Chron. 1234* specify Saturday, 24 January AH 132 (read *sab'* not *tis'* in Agapius for days of month remaining). Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 194; Caetani, *Chron.*, 1698–99 (Jumādā II 132/January 750). Agapius adds that his principal source is Theophilus of Edessa.

[224]Agapius, 526; *Chron. 1234*, 1.330.

[225]Agapius, 526; Michael 11.XXIV, 471/517; *Chron. 1234*, 1.330. Cf. Theophanes, 425: "Taking all the money, his household as well as 3000 servants, he fled to Egypt."

ordered to stop by 'Abd Allāh. Walīd was among those killed, along with a great number of Jews and Christians.[226]

Abū l-'Abbās sent his uncle Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī with a large army and ordered him to proceed through the desert of Qadash until he reached his (Ṣaliḥ's) brother 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, then to proceed together against Marwān. When the latter learnt of what had been done to Walīd and Damascus, he lost hope and fled with a few of his family and clients to Egypt, making his way down the Nile to Nubia. Ṣāliḥ sent a part of his army with 'Āmir ibn Ismā'īl to pursue Marwān more swiftly. 'Āmir found him encamped on the bank of the Nile, and he attacked him by night. Marwān's men fled and he himself climbed a hill and kept fighting until his death. His two sons, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh, fled; the latter went to Abyssinia and perished there; the former crossed the Red Sea and took refuge in Mecca. 'Āmir took Marwān's body and wealth to Ṣāliḥ in Fusṭaṭ. He had the corpse crucified and sent the head to Abū l-'Abbās.[227]

'Abd Allāh, who is called Abū Ja'far, remained besieging Wasiṭ. The situation became desperate for the inhabitants, and they asked Ibn Hubayra to leave. The latter negotiated with Abū Ja'far, who promised him and his troops security. However, when he entered the city, Abū Ja'far killed Ibn Hubayra and demolished the city walls, then returned with the news to his brother Abū l-'Abbās.[228]

Abū l-'Abbās had built for himself a city on the Euphrates; he called it Anbar and installed himself and his household there.[229]

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī fixed his camp in Palestine. He invited 70 men of the Umayyads to appear before him. He had previously given them

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[226]Agapius, 527; *Chron. 1234*. Ṭabarī, 3.48, dates this to Ramaḍān AH 132/April-May 750, and confirms that the fighting inside the city lasted for three hours.

[227]Agapius, 527, 528–29; Michael 11.XXIV, 471/517; *Chron. 1234*, 1.331–32. Agapius breaks up the report by returning to the siege of Ibn Hubayra in Wasiṭ. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, 1700–1702 (Dhū l-Ḥijja AH 132/August 750: death of Marwān).

[228]Agapius, 527–28; *Chron. 1234*, 1.332. Ṭabarī, 3.66, says: "They did not ask for peace until the news of the killing of Marwān reached them."

[229]Agapius, 528; *Chron. 1234*, 1.332. The latter adds that it was to the west of Baghdad; since in 750 Baghdad had not yet been built, one assumes that this is a comment of Dionysius. On the Abbasid capital before Baghdad see *EI* [2], *s.v.* "al-Hāshimiyya."

guarantees of safety, but now he ordered them to be beaten to death with iron bars. He sent their heads to Abū l-'Abbās, seized their wealth and sought out the others of their family.[230]

[750–51] When the Arabs of Syria saw that Abū l-'Abbās had subjected them to shame and to the domination and depradation of foreigners, they were angered and many rebelled: a Qaysī named Ḥabīb ibn Murra around Ramla, another Qaysī named Abū l-Ward in Syria, in Mesopotamia Manṣūr ibn Ja'wana and Isḥāq ibn Muslim al-'Uqaylī.[231]

Constantine attacked Melitene and took many prisoners. The Romans also ravaged Armenia and led off many of its inhabitants as captives.[232]

Abū l-'Abbās had brought whatever was in the royal treasury at Ḥarran to the city which he had built. He appointed Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī over Egypt and neighbouring countries; 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī over Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia; Abū Ja'far over Mesopotamia and Armenia; Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad over Moṣul and its province. This latter, when he arrived at Moṣul, gathered together the Arab chiefs of the region and had them massacred.[233]

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[230]Agapius, 529; *Chron. 1234*, 1.333. This conforms very closely to Muslim accounts, especially in Agapius (though he has Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī instead of 'Abd Allāh). E.g. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2.425–26: *aqāma ('Abd Allāh) 'alā ra's kull rajul minhum* (the Umayyads) *rajulayn bi-l-'umud*; Agapius: *aqāma 'inda ra's kull wāḥid minhum rajulayn min abnā' Khurāsān bi-aydayhim al-'umud al-ḥadīd.*

[231]Agapius, 529–31; *Chron. 1234*, 1.333–35; Theophanes, 427. These rebellions occupied late AH 132 and much of 133/autumn 750–summer 751. Cf. *Chron. Zuqnin*, 195–97 (AG 1061–62); Ṭabarī, 3.52–58; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192 (on Manṣūr ibn Ja'wana). Dionysius (in Michael 11.XXIV, 471–72/518–20, and *Chron. 1234*, 1.335–36) then gives an account of an incident which caused consternation in the camp of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, namely the apparition of eight men above their graves, some of whom had their beards died with henna, "as it is the custom of the Arabs to do."

[232]Theophanes, 427; Agapius, 531; Michael 11.XXIV, 472/518; *Chron. 1234*, 1.336–37. Theophanes seems to have this notice from CS (Nicephorus, §70, mentions the capture of Melitene, but not Armenia), though it is too brief to be sure; he later says that Constantine resettled these captives in Thrace. Cf. Khalīfa, 410 (AH 133/751).

[233]Agapius, 532; *Chron. 1234*, 1.338–39. *Chron. 1234* gives much detail, which agrees with the eyewitness reports provided by Azdī, *Ta'rīkh Mawṣil*, 145–53 (AH 133).

[754] Constantine convened a council of bishops in Constantinople to examine the question of images. The council decreed that images should not be worshipped and anathematised those who championed them.[234]

Abū Ja'far and Abū Muslim went on pilgrimage to Mecca.[235]

Abū l-'Abbās instructed 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī to campaign in Asia Minor.[236]

While Abū Ja'far was in Mecca and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī in Dabiq, Abū l-'Abbās died. Hearing of this, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī decided to take the caliphate for himself and had his Khurasani troops give allegiance to him. Abū Ja'far went to Kufa and was proclaimed caliph there, then he despatched Abū Muslim to fight 'Abd Allāh. The two sides met near Nisibis and 'Abd Allāh was defeated. Suspecting Abū Muslim of revolt, Abū Ja'far sent 'Īsā ibn Mūsā to him and he persuaded him with many promises and blandishments to come to Abū Ja'far. When Abū Muslim did so, the caliph had him killed in his presence.[237]

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[234]Agapius, 533; Michael 11.XXIV, 472–73/520–21. All have a problem with the names of those anathematised. Theophanes, 427–28, gives us an accurate account drawn from a Byzantine source (cf. Nicephorus, §72), which states that the council met from 10 February to 8 August of the seventh indiction/754 and anathematised Germanus, John of Damascus and George of Cyprus.

[235]This is all *Chron. 1234*, 1.339, says; Agapius, 532–33, also recounts how Abū l-'Abbās took his brother aside and asked him to kill Abū Muslim if he got the chance (cf. Ṭabarī, 3.84–86).

[236]Agapius, 533; *Chron. 1234*, 1.339.

[237]Theophanes, 428–29; Agapius, 533, 534–37; Michael 11.XXIV, 472–73/518; *Chron. 1234*, 1.339. Theophanes' account has many similarites with CS (e.g. he also places the battle between Abū Muslim and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī near Nisibis), but the additional material he adduces suggests that again he has it via the continuator of CS. Agapius narrates events at length, whereas Dionysius substantially abbreviates them. Agapius says that Abū l-'Abbās died in June AH 136/754 (thus Ṭabarī, 3.88). Hereafter the content of *Chron. 1234* changes noticeably. The actions of Muslim authorities are still noted, but only very briefly (e.g. "Abū Ja'far built a city on the Tigris above Ctesiphon and called it Baghdad") or only insofar as they impinged upon the Christian population (e.g. the harsh policies of Mūsā ibn Muṣ'ab, governor of Mesopotamia); there is no longer any concern with internal Muslim politics. It is likely, then, that CS stops at this point, with the consolidation of the rule of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. For completeness I shall, however, note the coincidences that seem still to occur in a few notices of Michael and Agapius.

There appeared a sign in the sky like a sword/lance stretching from east to west.[238]

[757] Abū Ja'far had Melitene rebuilt and garrisoned.[239]

Abū Ja'far had Theodosiopolis rebuilt and garrisoned.[240]

[760] The Arabs subdued Africa.[241]

[238]Agapius, 536; Michael 11.XXIV, 472/520.

[239]Agapius, 538; Michael 11.XXIV, 473–74/522. Cf. Khalīfa, 418 (AH 140/757).

[240]Agapius, 539; Michael 11.XXIV, 474/522.

[241]Agapius, 539; Michael 11.XXIV, 474/522. Agapius says that in charge of this expedition against Africa was Ash'ath, that is, Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī, governor of Egypt AH 141–43/758–60. The reference is presumably to the defeat of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ibāḍī by Ibn al-Ash'ath in AH 143/760 (Khalīfa, 420).

EXCURSUS D

THE PASSION OF DAVID OF DWIN

translated and annotated by
Professor Robert W. Thomson[1]

THIS MAN, called Surhan, was by race from the Tajik[2] nation, famous and [descended] from great ancestors on his father's side. Now during the time of the principate of the great Hamazasp *curopalates*, son of Davit',[3] the blessed martyr of Christ had arrived in this land of Armenia with a Tajik army, in the province of Ayrarat, in the canon of Kotayk'.[4] He travelled about through villages and towns, and saw the rites of Christians and their decent and pious way of life. He decided on a beautiful plan, through the supernal gift [and] influence of the Holy Spirit that was always in his heart, and he remained by day and night in the true faith in Christ. From then on he separated himself from all his own [people] in order to gain Christ, that he might be saved through Him and be freed from servitude to corruption by renewal and the second birth in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. He desired the illumination of the font in order to drown the invisible

[1]This translation is made from L. Alishan, *Hayapatum* (Venice, 1901), 240–42 (no. 196). Another version of David's passion is edited by J.B. Aucher, *Liakatar vark' ew vkayabanut'iwn srbots'* (Venice, 1810–15), 6.224–29.

[2]I.e. Arab. *Tajik* is derived from the tribal name Ṭayyi'.

[3]This is Hamazasp Mamikonian, prince of Armenia (656–60). Prince renders *ishkhan*; the title was that of the leading Armenian noble appointed by the caliph to act under the Muslim governor, *ostikan*.

[4]Kotayk' is north of Dwin.

Pharaoh in the water of the baptism of the font. And he looked with supplication to catechism in order to linger no more in servitude. This took place in the time of Anastas, the Armenian catholicos (662–68), and in the principate of Armenia of the renowned Grigor Mamikonian, *patrik* (661–85).

Since Surhan was much befriended and respected by many [people], Grigor, prince of Armenia, presented Surhan to the catholicos Anastas so that he might baptise him. With great joy and very happy delight he baptised him by the purification of the font in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. On him Grigor *patrik* bestowed his own father's name, calling him Davit', through the patriarch and the purification of the font. And he immediately became a dwelling place of the all-holy Trinity, just as Christ promised, saying: "I and my Father will come and make our dwelling with him" (John xiv.23). And the Apostle says: "There is no distinction, not of Jew nor of Gentile, not of servant nor of free" (Galatians iii.28). And: "Those of you who have been baptised in Christ have put on Christ" (Galatians iii.27). And Isaiah (lxii.2) says: "His name will be called new whom the Lord will call."

He was filled with the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, and removed the name of servitude, and was removed and separated from Mount Sinai, which is Hagar, who is a servant with her sons; and he enrolled himself among the sons of the free one, in the supernal Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all and of the free son—not Ishmael but Isaac. He proclaimed in accordance with Paul: "I am not a son of the handmaiden but of the free one, whereby Christ freed me from servitude to corruption into the freedom of the glory of the Son of God" (Galatians iv.31; Romans viii.2, 21). Confirmed in the same, he dwelt in the land of Armenia, on the plain in a village called Jag.[5] After a little time he acquired a wife and children, living a pure life in a modest and honourable marriage according to [divine] advice. He spent all his time in benevolence, reached old age and sheltered under the strong protective right hand of Christ. He meditated on the law of the Lord by day and night.

[We] now arrive at the time of Sahak, catholicos of Armenia (677–703), and of Smbat Bagratuni, prince of Armenia (693–726), when the

[5]There is more than one Jag; this is presumably the one in Kotayk'.

Tajiks held the land of Armenia in subjection; and the leader of their army in Armenia was called Abdlay,[6] a cruel and evil [man], who always delighted in the shedding of the blood of the innocent under the impulsion of the Evil One. At that time the blessed Davit' was arrested by the impious Abdlay, for it was not right that the truth be hidden. Jealous at his faith in Christ, through the counsel of the Slanderer, he lay in wait, grew proud and angry, gnashing his teeth. He sought a means to humble the just one in his snare. He tried many and various stratagems, by entreaties and promises of gifts, then by threats of tortures and death. He strove to [make him] abandon Christ and return to his former [people], who profess that they know God but have not recognised the true God. However, the blessed one stood firm in faith in the holy Trinity, with unmoved intent and fearless responses. he did not consent to their semi-religious rituals....[7]

Now the tyrant was astonished at the outspokenness of the servant of Christ. He ordered him to be bound and put in prison for three days. He was tormented by various tortures and beatings; he was dragged around, his hair and beard were pulled out in order to entice him to their religion. However, he did not agree, but valiantly endured with the hope of the incorruptible life and boundless joys and unfading crowns in Christ Jesus.

Then on the third day at dawn in the morning he ordered the blessed one to be brought before him, and opening his mouth that reeked of death he said: "Accept our commands and deny Christ." But he kept his noble intentions firm in accordance with his worthy stature, his great old age, his notable dignity, his hoary white hairs, his fine upbringing from youth to age, filled with all dignity like the blessed Eleazar.[8] He mocked and despised the threats; he censured and reproached the impious one in their own language. Then the wicked counsellor[9] ordered the holy sign to be thrown on the ground, and with blows he tried to force [Davit'] to trample on the boast of victory and the pledge of life,

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[6]See the entry on "David of Dwin" in Chapter 9 above for the identity of this 'Abd Allāh.

[7]Alishan omits a passage here, but gives no indication of its length.

[8]I.e. Maccabaeus.

[9]Why Abdlay is so called is unclear [though compare the frequent translation of *amīr* into Greek as *symboulos* – R.G.H.].

the holy cross. But the latter did not agree. He said to the tyrant: "I shall not heed your destructive command. Whatever you wish to do, do quickly." Angered, he took his sword so that there within his chamber he might kill the blessed one. But his concubine, raising a shriek, snatched the sword from his hand and said: "Why do you kill him inside this room? If he is at all worthy of death, let him die outside." This did not happen at the will of the Evil One, but at God's [will] so that the martyrdom of the blessed one for Christ's sake might be manifest to all.

Then after this the tyrant offered him life if he would agree; otherwise the death of the cross.[10] But he preferred death for Christ's sake over life with remorse. He stood with fearless boldness, according to the saying: "Avoid the unjust and trembling will not approach you" (Isaiah liv.14). And: "The just one does not fear death," especially in accordance with the gospel of Christ: "Do not fear those who kill the body, but are unable to kill the soul" (Matthew x.28). Therefore he chose to die for Christ's sake.

Then the blessed one was led to the place of valour, to the arena of his martyrdom. Praying, he gave thanks for the ineffable grace which had been given him by Christ, to become worthy of dying for his name. Willingly going to the cross, he spread himself on it. The cross was raised facing south. The executioner took the lance and put it to his ribs, to frighten him so that perhaps he might be persuaded. But the holy Davit', resembling the brigand, cried out to Christ with a sincere groan: "Remember me, Lord, when you come with your kingdom" (Luke xxiii.42).

Now of the many people standing around, some addressed to him words of valour, and others of defeat. His wife was standing near the cross; she encouraged him and exhorted him with many words to remain inflexible in belief in Christ. The blessed Davit' with solid faith desired to leave the body and to enter to Christ. Then he struck the lance into his heart, and as the blood flowed he gave up his soul to the glory of

[10]The instrument of David's death is called *p'ayt*, literally "wood." It can refer to a cross (as of Christ) or to a gibbet from which someone is hung. Here "cross" is intended; this is clear not only from what follows, but from the description of David's death in John Catholicos, where he says David "was nailed" to the wood. Maksoudian's translation (XX.31) as "wooden board" is wrong.

God, according to the saying: "The souls of the just are in the hand of God" (Wisdom iii.1). And the cross, which was facing south, turned to the east. This miraculous sign was shown to the believers and unbelievers, so that the power of Christ and the defeat of the Enemy might be manifest. There was rejoicing for the angels, since those on the right hand side had been strengthened, and those of the left put to shame. Thus the holy Davit' bore witness to Christ, despising death. He set up on earth the sign of his name, and in heaven he received from Christ incorruptible glory and the crown of the kingdom with all the saints.

After this there quickly arrived at the spot Sargsak, bishop of the Amatunik',[11] with priests and clergy of the church; and Mushel Mamikonian, *sparapet* of Armenia;[12] and Artawazd his brother, with many nobles. Taking down from the cross the relics of the blessed Davit', martyr of Christ, they took them to [the cathedral of] S. Gregory.[13] And bringing honourable clothes, they wrapped the saint in his own clothing and laid it out with incense and oils. They bore it to the tomb with psalms and blessings and spiritual songs and glorious lights, and placed it in the sepulchre of S. Yiztbuzit.[14] The cross of the holy martyr they arranged as a cross and set it up over the tomb. The lance with which he had been wounded Mushel *sparapet*, son of the Mamikonian and *marzpet*,[15] asked for himself in return for twenty *dahekan*, so that having been shaped into a cross it might be honoured as a memorial from generation to generation of his family, to the glory of God.

The holy martyr of Christ Davit' was martyred on the 23rd of the month Areg, on the second day of the week (Monday), at the sixth hour, with a true confession in Christ Jesus our Lord.[16] Through his intercession no few healings of believers were effected, to the glory and praise of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

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[11]Sargsak is not otherwise attested, nor is his name, though Sargsuk exists.

[12]Mushel was the son of the Hamazasp mentioned above. The title *sparapet*, "commander-in-chief," was hereditary in the Mamikonian noble house. That family had lands in Aragatsotn, west of Kotayk'.

[13]In Dwin, the seat of government and residence of the *ostikan*.

[14]This is first mentioned in John Catholicos; he was martyred in 553.

[15]*Marzpet*, "governor," is quite rare; here it seems to be a variant for Hamazasp's title of prince.

[16]For the date see the entry on "David of Dwin" in Chapter 9 above.

EXCURSUS E

GEORGIAN HISTORICAL WRITING[1]

by Dr. Stephen H. Rapp, Jr.

FOR A VARIETY of reasons, some of them valid, medieval Georgian historical literature has been largely ignored by specialists of the Near East. The linguistic nightmare posed by the Georgian language has been a death sentence of sorts, and the difficulty in obtaining books printed in Georgia remains a formidable obstacle. It is true that for over a century scholars possessing a knowledge of French have had access to Brosset's translations of several Georgian historical works (albeit via a rather late manuscript tradition), and in Russian several excellent translations from the Old Georgian critical editions have been published during the past 40 years, but even today very few pre-modern Georgian historical works have been translated into English. Yet Georgian historical writing does provide a valuable insight into a region not treated in detail by Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian, or Muslim historians; and from the Georgian sources we may extract evidence not preserved elsewhere. From the late eighth century Georgian historical works are relatively plentiful in contrast to the contemporary historical output of the neighboring Armenians. Here we shall examine Georgian historical literature up through to the late eighth/early ninth century, provide a brief summary of each text, and enumerate the most significant editions and translations.

[1]My ignorance of Georgian has led me to neglect its literature in this book; I am therefore very grateful to Stephen Rapp of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor for agreeing to remedy this deficiency with the following excursus.

In the early Hellenistic period indigenous royal authority was established in the central Caucasian region of K'art'li.[2] But the K'art'velians did not possess their own script at the time; although familiar with other alphabets (notably Greek and Aramaic) the K'art'velians did not engage in historical writing until well after the invention of the Georgian script in the fifth century AD, which itself was a product of the Christianisation of the K'art'velian monarchy. Also in the fifth century the Armenian alphabet was developed under the direction of the cleric Mashtots' (later called Mesrop). Unlike their Armenian neighbours, the K'art'velians did not immediately indulge in the composition of original historical works.[3] While Armenian authors such as Agat'angełos, P'awstos Buzandats'i, Ełishe, and Łazar P'arpets'i wrote histories of Armenia, the K'art'velians engaged principally in translating Biblical and patristic texts from Armenian, Greek, and Syriac.

This is not to suggest that the K'art'velians did not develop any forms of original writing, for the oldest monument of Georgian literature, *The Martyrdom of Shushaniki* attributed to the cleric Jacob of Ts'urtavi, was composed in the fifth century;[4] a century later *The Martyrdom of Evstat'i of Mts'khet'a* was written by an anony-

[2]K'art'li is the historical core of the "land of the K'art'velians" (*sak'art'velo*). This latter term refers to the unified Georgian kingdom, which did not exist prior to the reign of Bagrat III, who united K'art'li and the western region of Ap'khazet'i (Russian *Abkhaziia*, Greek *Abasgia*) *ca.* 1008. Here "Georgian" is employed for the language while "K'art'velian" refers to the majority community.

[3]The most comprehensive studies of medieval Georgian literature are Ivane Javakhishvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli saistorio mtserloba (V–XVIII ss.)* in vol. 7 of his *T'khzulebani* (Tbilisi, 1977 [1920]); Korneli Kekelidze, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, 2 vols. (Tbilisi, 1941 and 1958). Kekelidze's work was adapted by Michael Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi 185; Città del Vaticano, 1955). See also Cyril Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature (VIIth–XVth Centuries)," *Traditio* 1 (1943), 139–82; *idem*, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington DC, 1963); Robert W. Thomson, "K'art'lis c'xovreba" in *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 7 (New York, 1986), 222–23; Donald Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia: a History* (Oxford, 1994), which is highly dependent upon Kekelidze for the medieval period.

[4]Georgian critical edition by Ilia Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi* (= *DzK'ALDz*), 1 (Tbilisi, 1963), 11–29; partial English translation by D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* (London, 1956), 44–80. See also P. Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik, martyre en Arméno-Géorgie," *AB* 53 (1935),

mous hagiographer.[5] Like a great many Georgian medieval texts, these two have survived only in later manuscripts (of the eleventh century in these cases). Neither of these works offers information about local royal authority in K'art'li; however, both are extremely important for their testimony about the Persian domination of Caucasia. Moreover, these hagiographical monuments describe a heterogeneous, cosmopolitan K'art'li. Indeed, the principal characters of each of these martyrdom accounts are non-K'art'velians (Shushaniki was an Armenian martyred by her Zoroastrianised K'art'velian husband and Evstat'i was a Christianised Persian residing in the K'art'velian royal city, Mts'khet'a).

Judging from extant manuscripts, Georgian historical writing emerged only two or three centuries after the invention of the Georgian script. The efflorescence of historical writing among the K'art'velians at this time was stimulated by the schism with the Armenian church following the Third Council of Dwin in 607. Although the K'art'velians did not issue virulent, Christological polemic against their neighbors until the eleventh century,[6] they did seize the opportunity to emphasise, popularise and even invent their own traditions, ecclesiastically and politically. The earliest Georgian historical(-hagiographical) work is the seventh/eighth-century *Conversion of K'art'li*. Traditionally attributed to a certain Gregory the Deacon, its author has yet to be identified positively. It is the earliest extant native tale of the Christianisation of the K'art'velian monarchy that occurred in the fourth century at the hand of the holy woman Nino, and is based upon sources of great antiquity.[7] It was superseded a century or two later by the dependent—but greatly expanded and reworked—*Life of Nino*,

5–48, 245–307; Ot'ar Egadze, *Shushanikis tsameba* (Tbilisi, 1983), which includes a full English translation by Elizabeth Fuller.

[5]Abuladze, *DzK'ALDz*, 1.30–45; tr. Lang, *Lives and Legends*, 94–114.

[6]I.e. the tract of Arseni Sap'areli, *Ganqop'isat'ws k'art'velt'a da somekht'a*, ed. Zaza Alek'sidze (Tbilisi, 1980), with English summary, 206–208.

[7]Though in its received form it dates from the seventh/eighth century, it may be based upon the fifth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of Rufinus, who wrote an account of the conversion of K'art'li as it was related to him by the K'art'velian prince and Roman military commander of Palestine, Bakur (*PL* 21, 480–82; tr. Lang, *Lives and Legends*, 15–19).

the (now) traditional story of the conversion of King Mirian III (284–361).[8]

Georgian historical writing proper did not emerge until the end of the eighth century, at which time three works—the *Life of the Kings*, the *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali*, and the history of ps.-Juansher Juansheriani—were composed.[9] These constitute the original core of the historical corpus known as *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* ("The Life of K'art'li").[10] It is *the* major source for pre-modern "Georgian" history and it largely reflects the position and ideology of the monarchy; this contrasts sharply with medieval Armenian histories, which were usually composed for a particular noble house. We do not know when *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* was originally assembled, but the aforementioned three works (composed *ca.* 800) must have been incorporated from an early time. Nearly all of the extant works of medieval Georgian historical literature found their way into *K'art'lis ts'khovreba*; moreover, its constituent histories are extant only within manuscripts of *K'art'lis ts'khovreba*. Unfortunately the manuscript tradition is extremely late: the earliest surviving Georgian manuscripts were copied only from the late fifteenth century,[11] and the oldest manuscript is actually a medieval Armenian adaptation copied

[8]Both works are part of a corpus of six texts (Abuladze, *DzK'ALDz*, 1.81–163), of which the *Conversion of K'art'li* is the third (*ibid.*, 1.83–91) and a version of the *Life of Nino* the last (*ibid.*, 1.98–163). The corpus is known collectively, and confusingly, as the *Conversion of K'art'li* (Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature," 149–53; *idem*, *Studies*, 23–24; Michael Tarchnisvili, "Sources arméno-géorgiennes de l'histoire ancienne de l'église de Géorgie," *Le Muséon* 60, 1947, 30–37). The other four texts of the corpus concern the establishment of K'art'velian kingship (*Primary History of K'art'li*) and the succession of monarchs and ecclesiastical hierarchs from Mirian to the ninth century (*Royal Lists I, II, III*). The earliest manuscripts of the corpus were copied in the tenth century (the Shatberdi and unpublished Sinai recensions).

[9]Toumanoff, *Studies*, 20–25. The precise identification of the authors and the original date of composition of each of these texts is much contested. It is commonly thought that all three sources were composed in the eleventh century (most recently see Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, 53–56). However, Toumanoff, Tarchnishvili, Ingoroqva and others have argued convincingly that they must have been written on the eve of Bagratid rule in K'art'li, in the eighth/ninth century.

[10]Toumanoff's *The Georgian Royal Annals*.

[11]Cyril Toumanoff, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Georgian Annals: the Queen Anne Codex (QA), 1479–1495," *Traditio* 5 (1947), 340–44. On the manuscripts in general see Konstantine Grigolia, *Akhali k'art'lis ts'khovreba* (Tbilisi, 1954).

in the period 1279–1311.[12] Thus, although the corpus contains works of considerable age, the earliest extant manuscript was copied some 500 years after the composition of the earliest works that it contains.[13]

The *Life of the Kings* treats K'art'li from its origin down to the reign of Mirian III.[14] The anonymous historian set the provenance of the K'art'velian community within an Old Testament framework, interpolating its origins into the combined accounts of Genesis x, Hippolytus' *Chronicle* (via its Armenian adaptation), and perhaps Josephus. Thereafter the focus of the work is the K'art'velian monarchy established in the wake of Alexander the Great's alleged Caucasian offensive. The author, writing on the eve of Bagratid rule in K'art'li (in the early ninth century), firmly placed the K'art'velians and their monarchy within the Persian cultural world. Royal nomenclature is exclusively Persian/Parthian/Avestan, the ascendancy of the monarchy—although linked to Alexander—is set within a Persian context and the very description of K'art'velian kings (as with the term *bumberazi/mumbarezi*, though derived from the Arabic word *mubāriz*, "champion-duelist") is undeniably, but anachronistically, Sasanian. Moreover, like other pre-Bagratid works, the *Life of the Kings* describes a cosmopolitan K'art'li

[12]Critical edition with Georgian translation by Ilia Abuladze, *K'art'lis ts'khovrebis dzveli somkhuri t'argmani* (Tbilisi, 1953). An English translation, together with a translation of the Georgian text of Qaukhch'ishvili (see n. 14 below) for comparison, is given by Robert W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: the Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles* (Oxford, 1996) = Thomson. See also *idem*, "The Armenian Version of the Georgian Chronicles," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990–91), 81–90.

[13]To complicate matters, the edition and translation of M.F. Brosset, so widely cited by Western scholars, was based upon the eighteenth-century recension commissioned by the scholar-king Vakhtang VI (d. 1737). And this recension, seeking to present a uniform, chronologically organised narrative, obscured the fact that *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* consists of several disparate histories, composed during a span of over half a millennium.

[14]A critical edition of the earliest histories of *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* was produced by Simon Qaukhch'ishvili, *K'art'lis ts'khovreba*, 1 (Tbilisi, 1955) = *K'Ts'*. An edition and French translation of the Vakhtangiseuli recension was made by M.F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, Part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1849) = Brosset. The *Life of the Kings* is edited in *K'Ts'*, 1–71, and translated in Brosset, 15–89, and in Thomson, 2–84. There is a partial Russian translation by G.V. Tsulaia, *Žizn' kartliiskikh tsarei: izvlechenie svedenii ob abkhazakh, narodakh Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana* (Moscow, 1979).

(cf. the martyrdom accounts of Shushaniki and Evstat'i). In short, the *Life of the Kings* depicts K'art'li as a part of the Sasanian world and this is a reflection of the Persian heritage of K'art'li, a heritage which persisted in K'art'li well after the dissolution of the Sasanian empire itself.

Following the *Life of the Kings* in the received form of *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* is the *Life of Nino* and the *Life of the Successors of Mirian*, the three traditionally having been envisaged as a single work composed by the eleventh-century archbishop Leonti Mroveli ("of Ruisi").[15] However, the connection of the name Leonti Mroveli with these texts seems to be a recollection that he was responsible for editing the *Life of the Kings* in the eleventh century. Aspiring to Christianise this rather unchristian tale, Leonti not only appended the lengthy *Life of Nino* but also introduced several Biblical notices within the *Life of the Kings* itself. He may also be responsible for composing the *Life of the Successors of Mirian*, a brief work continuing the *Life of the Kings*, treating the Christian kings of K'art'li from Mirian's son and successor Bak'ar (363–65) down to Mihrdat IV (409–11). Regardless, the *Life of the Successors of Mirian* was written between *ca.* 800 and the eleventh century, and its anonymous author attempted to imitate the style of the earlier *Life of the Kings*, although some overtly Persian elements, such as the champion-duelist, are noticeably absent.

The *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* is also considered by many specialists as an eleventh-century work and is traditionally credited to a certain Juansher Juansheriani. However, Toumanoff has demonstrated that this work is a composite of two separate texts, both composed *ca.* 800. The *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* proper commences with the death of Mihrdat IV and is concerned principally with the life and deeds of Vakhtang I Gorgasali (*ca.* 447–522).[16] This anonymous work is imbued with brilliant detail and in this regard is remi-

[15] *Life of Nino*: *K'Ts'*, 72–130; tr. Brosset, 90–132; tr. Marjory Wardrop, "The Life of St. Nino," *Studia et Biblica Ecclesiastica* 5 (1903), 1–66; tr. Thomson, 84–145. *Life of the Successors of Mirian*: *K'Ts'*, 130–38; tr. Brosset, 133–44; tr. Thomson, 146–53.

[16] *K'Ts'*, 139–204; tr. Brosset, 108–49; tr. Thomson, 153–223; Russian translation by G.V. Tsulaia, *Žizn' Vakhtanga Gorgasala* (Tbilisi, 1986), 57–94.

niscent of the *Song of Roland*. Like the *Life of the Kings*, it emphatically situates K'art'li within the Persian commonwealth, and champion-duelist combat is featured throughout its pages. However, the author of the *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* exhibits an acute awareness of the numerous, and sometimes contradicting strands of medieval "Georgian" self-identity. Thus, while Vakhtang was related by blood to the Persians and himself bore a Persian name, he was not a Zoroastrian. Moreover, Vakhtang is portrayed in a hagiographical mould, for his "progression" from a Persian to a specifically Christian (and Byzantine) orientation is emphasised. As a Persian story coloured by Christianity with a K'art'velian king as its principal character, the *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* is noteworthy for its testimony on the expansion of the K'art'velian church. In particular, ecclesiastical relations with Antioch, Pontus, and Constantinople as well as the establishment of the K'art'velian catholicate—and its potential implication of autocephaly—are prominently featured. But far from denying K'art'li's Persian heritage, the *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* merely enhanced the Christian dimension of K'art'velian identity (vis-à-vis the Persian), and K'art'li's indebtedness to Persian civilisation was not obscured insofar as it did not interfere with the Christian orientation of K'art'li.

Shortly after the *Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali*, a brief continuation was composed by ps.-Juansher.[17] This traces the rulers of K'art'li from Vakhtang's son and successor Dach'i (522–34), through the period of the dissolution of the K'art'velian monarchy by the Persians,[18] and ends his narrative in the eighth century. The tension arising from the opposition of Persian and Byzantine influences in K'art'li are conspicuous throughout this work. Ps.-Juansher provides much information about the dissemination of Christianity throughout K'art'li; particularly noteworthy are the accounts of the establishment of monasticism in K'art'li resulting from the arrival of the Thirteen Syrian Fa-

[17] *K'Ts'*, 204–44; tr. Brosset, 200–52; tr. Thomson, 223–51; Russian translation by Tsulaia, *Žizn' Vakhtanga Gorgasala*, 95–107. Juansher Juansheriani was unquestionably a historical figure, but the attribution to him of this text by later historical tradition is anachronistic and incorrect.

[18] Although the K'art'velian monarchy was abolished in 580 (shown by Toumanoff, *Studies*, 360–82), ps.-Juansher continues to style the presiding princes as kings.

thers (with substantial later insertions), the martyrdom of Shushaniki (anachronistically reported in the reign of Bakur III [d. 580]), and the building of the Juari church in Mts'khet'a and that of Sioni in Tbilisi. Heraclius' invasion of K'art'li, and the sacking of Tbilisi, are also treated; this was evidently a momentous occasion in the minds of K'art'velian historians, for this account is found in three separate historical works (but ps.-Juansher's account appears to be the earliest).

Ps.-Juansher is also familiar with the rise of Islam, conveying that "Muḥammad (*Mohamadi*), a descendant of Ishmael, teacher of the religion of the Saracens (*sarkinozt'a sjulisa*)... conquered all Arabia and Yemen," and that he was succeeded by Abū Bakr (*Abobik'ari*), who "conquered Persia, entered Baghdad, and by force compelled innumerable people to abandon fire-worship, converting them to the Saracen [religion]."[19] The author is also familiar with the fact that the Muslims possessed their own holy book, the Qur'an (*Kurani*).[20] Much about the Islamic conquest of Caucasia and K'art'li is omitted, but the invasion by Murvan Qru ("the Deaf"), namely the future Umayyad caliph Marwān II, in the 730s is included.[21] Finally, ps.-Juansher is our earliest Georgian source for the rise of the K'art'velian Bagratids, for he mentions Adarnase, "of the family of David the Prophet."[22]

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[19] *K'Ts'*, 229; tr. Thomson, 237. Note Heraclius' reaction: "They informed King Heraclius that the Hagarenes had invaded Sham and Jaziret'i, which is Mesopotamia. Heraclius set out for Palestine in order to do battle there. But there was a certain monk, a man of God, and he said to the king: 'Flee, because the Lord has given the East and the South to the Saracens, which means "the dogs of Sarah." ' The astrologers and expert soothsayers reported (interpreted?) these words of the monk to King Heraclius. He erected a pillar and inscribed on it: 'Farewell, Mesopotamia and Palestine, until seven weeks have passed' " (*K'Ts'*, 230; tr. Thomson, 238).

[20] "A certain Hagarene saw a vision in which their supposed apostle said: 'God has given us power down to the death of ten kings, as God said to Abraham and to Hagar. But spare the holy churches and the men who serve God, as I commanded you in my Koran' " (*K'Ts'*, 238; tr. Thomson, 244).

[21] Toumanoff, *Studies*, 394–95.

[22] *Ibid.*, 202, 254, 316–17, 328–29, 334–36, 345–46. With regard to the Bagratids, it should be said that the later Vakhtangiseuli recension has interpolated several passages from eleventh-century Bagratid histories (especially that of Smbat Davit'isdze) into ps.-Juansher.

The *Martyrdom of Arch'il* is a brief work describing the martyrdom of Arch'il II in 786.[23] Traditionally ascribed to Leonti Mroveli, it was not written by the author of the *Life of the Kings* and was composed in the tenth or eleventh century. The murderer of Arch'il, a certain Chichum, has been identified by Joseph Marquart as Khuzayma ibn Khāzim, the governor of the province of Armenia under the caliph Hādī; Toumanoff concurred, citing the Armenian historian Lewond, who reported the assassination of the prince of K'art'li during the reign of Hādī.[24]

Finally, we should note two later hagiographical works which contribute to our understanding of early medieval K'art'li. The *Martyrdom of Habo*,[25] composed in the eighth century by John Sabanis-dze, relates the story of a Muslim named Habo (Abo) who came to K'art'li and converted to Christianity. It exists in a near contemporary manuscript copied in the ninth century. The tale is set within the context of the decimation of K'art'li at the hands of the armies of Islam and provides significant information not only about Arab rule in K'art'li but also about the Khazars and Ap'khazet'i. Giorgi Merch'ule's biography of Gregory of Khandzt'a,[26] written nearly a century after Gregory's death in 861, also describes a K'art'li devastated by the Arab conquest of Caucasia. The narrative is anchored in southwestern "Georgia," in the regions of Tao, Klarjet'i, and Shavshet'i. It was in this area that

[23]The preferred Georgian critical edition is by Abuladze, *DzK'ALDz*, 2 (Tbilisi, 1967), 208–12, which incorporates the Mtskhet'ian manuscript ("Q") of 1697 (not used by Quakch'ishvili). See also *K'Ts'*, 245–48; tr. Brosset, 253–56; tr. Thomson, 251–55.

[24]Joseph Marquart, *Osteuropaïsche und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), 402–16; Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature," 172.

[25]For the critical Georgian text see Abuladze, *DzK'ALDz*, 1.46–81; partial translation by Lang, *Lives and Legends*, 115–33.

[26]This work has reached us in a single twelfth-century Ms. from Jerusalem. For the critical Georgian text, with a Russian translation, see N.Ia. Marr, "Žitie sv. Grigoriia Khandzt'iiskago," *Teksty i razyskaniia po armiano-gruzinskoi filologii* 7 (1911), 1–82. Another critical Georgian version was published by Abuladze, *DzK'ALDz*, 1.248–319. A partial English translation was made by Lang, *Lives and Legends*, 134–53. See also the detailed study of Pavle Ingoroqva, *Giorgi merch'ule: k'art'veli mtserali meat'e saukunisa* (Tbilisi, 1954), and the recent study by Wachtang Djobadze, "A Brief Survey of the Monastery of St. George in Hanzt'a," *OC* 78 (1994), 145–76.

the great K'art'velian monastic centers arose in this period, escaping the tyranny of the Arabs in K'art'li proper. Moreover, it was also here that the K'art'velian Bagratids rose to power under Byzantine tutelage. The *Life* of Gregory of Khandzt'a offers evidence not only about the monastic communities of southwestern "Georgia," but also the rise of the Bagratids, as well as the relationship of these early Bagratid rulers to the K'art'velian church.

With the coming to power of the K'art'velian Bagratids in the early ninth century, Georgian historical writing entered a new phase. Whereas pre-Bagratid historical works admitted and emphasised the Persian heritage of K'art'li, even in the Christian period, the Bagratids had ascended with the support of the Byzantine Empire. Bagratid-era histories, beginning with those of Smbat Davit'is-dze and the anonymous *Chronicle of K'art'li* (both eleventh-century), de-emphasised the K'art'velians' intimate, long-standing bonds with Persia. Instead, the Christian dimension of K'art'velian identity was elevated and enshrined, and the connection with the Persian cultural world, which persists in many respects even today, was, for the most part, consciously denied and conveniently ignored.

EXCURSUS F

DATED MUSLIM WRITINGS AH 1–135/622–752

THIS EXCURSUS assembles writings by Muslims dated securely to the first seven decades after the Hijra, and also writings specifically by caliphs from the six following decades. The purpose of this is firstly to illustrate the point made in Chapter 13 above, that writings before AH 72 differ considerably in terms of religious content from those coming after this date. The second aim is more general, namely to encourage greater use of this material which offers Islamicists something that they otherwise lack, namely texts definitely composed in the Umayyad period.[1] It should be emphasised that dated writings, particularly as regards rock inscriptions, account for no more than a small proportion of the totality of writings of this period.[2] These can often be assigned an approximate date, for the so-called Kufic script in which they are

[1]Studies making use of this material are Donner, "The Formation of the Islamic State;" Ory, "Aspects religieux des textes épigraphiques du début de l'Islam;" Nevo, "Towards a Prehistory of Islam;" Hoyland, "The Content and Context of Early Arabic Inscriptions."

[2]Some major collections of mostly first–third century rock inscriptions are Grohmann, *Arabic Inscriptions* (*ca.* 350, earliest dated = AH 46); Imbert, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de la Jordanie du nord* (*ca.* 250, earliest dated = AH 81); Nevo *et al.*, *AAIN1* (*ca.* 400, earliest dated = AH 85); Ory, "Les graffiti umayyades de 'Ayn al-Ğarr" (60, earliest dated = AH 123); Rāshid, *Kitābāt islāmīya ghayr manshūra min 'Ruwāwa' al-Madīna* (55, earliest dated = AH 76); 'Ushsh, "Kitābāt 'arabīya ghayr manshūra fī Jabal Usays" (85, earliest dated = AH 93). Sharon is publishing a corpus of the inscriptions of the Holy Land (until then see the articles

written changed over time, but the study of such developments is as yet in its infancy.[3]

The intention here is only to give an indication of what material is available, not a scientific presentation of this material. If one wishes to know how the original text appears, one must consult the works cited (I have not, for example, preserved the line numbering of the original nor orthographical abnormalities). I shall only include extant material, except for nos. 24 and v–vi, which, though only known from literary works, still seem worth consideration.

Dated Writings before AH *72/691*

1. Various demand notices and receipts on papyri (in Greek and Arabic or Greek only), Egypt, AH 22/December 642 onwards:[4]

> Opening formulae: *bism Allāh/en onomati tou theou* ("In the name of God"); *bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* ("In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful"); *syn theō* ("With God").
>
> *Papyri ERF*, no. 552, containing an acknowledgement for the receipt of six *nomismata* by 'Ubayd ibn 'Umar, concludes *kai eirēnē soi apo tou theou* ("And peace from God be upon you").

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listed under his name in Bibliography II below). See also Sourdel-Thomine, "Inscriptions et graffiti arabes d'époque umayyade." Inscriptions are also found on glass stamps, lead seals, textiles, ceramics, coins etc.; for a survey see Fischer, *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Band I*, Teil II. For papyri, see Frantz-Murphy, "Arabic Papyrology and Middle Eastern Studies;" Raġib, "L'écriture des papyrus arabes aux premiers siècles de l'Islam."

[3]See especially Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*; *idem*, *Arabic Inscriptions*, xix–xxv; Gruendler, *Development of the Arabic Scripts*; Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing."

[4]Esp. see *Papyri ERF*, nos. 552–73, which are dated between AH 22 and 57 (except no. 572, which may be later). In a papyrus of "the year 65" the phrase *al-salām 'alā man ittaba'a al-hudā* is partially preserved (Diem, "Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen"). For what may be deduced from these documents see Bell, "The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs;" Morimoto, "Taxation in Egypt under the Arab Conquest;" *idem*, *Fiscal Administration of Egypt*; Simonsen, *The Caliphal Taxation System*.

2. The tombstone of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khayr, Egypt, AH 31/651–52:[5]

> *Bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. hādha l-qabr li-'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khayr al-Ḥajrī. Allahumma ighfir lahu wa-dkhulhu fī raḥma minka wa-ātinā ma'ahu. istaghfir lahu idhā qara'a hādha l-kitāb wa-qul amīn. wa-kutiba hādha l-kitāb fī jumādā al-ākhar min sanat iḥdā wa-thalāthīn.*
>
> In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. This tomb belongs to 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of Khayr al-Ḥajrī. O God, forgive him and enter him into Your mercy and make us go with him. (To the passer-by) When reading this writing, ask pardon for him (the deceased) and say amen. And this writing was written in Jumādā II of the year thirty-one.

3. Arab–Sasanian coins, various mints in Iran, known in large quantities from year 20 (assume Yazdgird era, so AH 31) onwards.[6] All bear the legend *bism Allāh* ("In the name of God"), sometimes with additional words in Arabic or Persian.

4. Arab–Sasanian coins, various mints in Iran, known with years 23–39 (assume Yazdgird era, so AH 34–50/654–70). All bear the legend *lillāh* ("Unto God").[7]

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[5]Hawary, "The Most Ancient Islamic Monument Known," 322; Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, no. 6. It might be thought that the year should be understood as AH 131 (the *mi'a* having been omitted), but omission of Muḥammad in a funerary inscription from Egypt is unheard of after AH 72 and the script is very crude (see Hawary, "The Most Ancient Islamic Monument Known," 323–37).

[6]This may be a frozen year, but certainly coins with this legend were struck from very soon after the death of Yazdgird. On the "*Bismi'llāh-Gruppe*" see Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, 19–22, 26–34 (with additional words in Arabic and Persian); Album, "Baṣran and Kufan Affiliations." Dating from the year of Yazdgird's accession in 632 remained common until Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān took control of all the East in AH 50/670, so I shall assume that years 1–39 are according to the Yazdgird era (= AH 11–50).

[7]Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, 34; this is rarer than the *bism Allāh* type, but still over 100 specimens are known.

5. Arabic graffito, Ḥijaz (on pilgrimage route from Iraq), AH 40/660–61:[8]

> *Raḥmat Allāh wa-barakatuhu ʿalā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-ʿĀṣ wa-kutiba li-sanat arbaʿīn.*
>
> The mercy of God and His blessing upon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān son of Khālid son of al-ʿĀṣ, written in the year forty.

6. Five Arab–Sasanian coins of Muʿāwiya, Darabgird, year AH 41/661–62.[9] On the obverse is written in Persian *Maawia amir i-wruishnikan* ("Muʿāwiya, commander of the faithful"), and in Arabic *bism Allāh* ("In the name of God").

7. Greek inscription in the baths at Ḥammat Gader, AH 42/662–63:[10]

> In the days of the servant of God Muʿāwiya, the commander of the faithful (*abdalla Maavia amēra almoumenēn*), the hot baths of the people there were saved and rebuilt by ʿAbd Allāh son of Abū Hāshim, the governor (*Abouasemou symboulou*), on the fifth of the month of December, on the second day (of the week), in the 6th year of the indiction, in the year 726 of the colony, according to the Arabs (*kata Arabas*) the 42nd year, for the healing of the sick, under the care of Ioannes, the official of Gadara.

8. A papyrus, now in the Louvre, bearing an acknowledgement of a debt, dated AH 42. The dating formula is *sanat qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* ("the year of the dispensation of the believers").[11]

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[8]Sharafaddin, "Islamic Inscriptions Discovered on the Darb Zubayda," 69, Plate 49.

[9]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.25–26.

[10]Hirschfeld and Solar, "The Roman Thermae at Ḥammat Gader," 203–204; Green and Tsafrir, "Greek Inscriptions from Ḥammat Gader," 94–96.

[11]The same formula is found in a papyrus of the Austrian national library, also of the first century AH. This information was kindly given to me by Professor Yusuf Ragheb, who will be publishing these papyri along with others of the same period.

9. A protocol (a protective cover at the beginning of a papyrus roll, bearing caliph/governor's name and formulae), in Greek and Arabic, from the time of Mu'āwiya (661–80):[12]

Greek: *abdella Mouaouia amiralmoumnin*

Arabic: *'abd Allāh Mu'āwiya amīr al-mu'minīn*

10. Three Arab–Sasanian coins, Bishapur, years AH 45/665 and 47/667.[13] All bear the legend *bism Allāh al-malik* ("In the name of God the King").

11. Arabic graffito, Ḥijaz (Wadi Sabil, near Ṭa'if), AH 46/666:[14]

Allahumma ighfir li-'Abd Allāh ibn Dayrām kutiba li-'arba'a layāl khalūn min muḥarram min sanat sitt wa-arba'īn.

O God, forgive 'Abd Allāh son of Dayrām, written when four nights had passed of Muḥarram of the year forty-six.

12. Arab–Sasanian coins, various mints in Iran, from year 35 (assume Yazdgird era, so AH 46) onwards. All bear the legend *bism Allāh rabbī* ("In the name of God my Lord"), sometimes with additional words in Arabic or Persian.[15]

[12]Grohmann, "Zum Papyrusprotokoll in früharabischer Zeit," 6–13. This protocol is followed by the bilingual *entagion* of AH 54 from Nessana (see no. 13 below). The dots indicate three lines preserving "Spuren der Schraffenschrift," now undecipherable except possibly for the *basmala*. *Ibid.*, 2–5, publishes a Byzantine protocol in four lines which is followed by an Arabic embola (= P. Mich. 6714); Grohmann considers this to antedate the Mu'āwiya protocol and to illustrate that the Arabs initially continued to produce Byzantine-style protocols.

[13]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.18–19; Mordtmann mentions two other coins identical to these three, but with dates 31 and 41, though Walker (*ibid.*, 1.12, 1.17) is sceptical.

[14]Grohmann, *Arabic Inscriptions*, 124.

[15]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.13–23, 36–37, 40–46, 55, 65. On the "*Bismi'llāh-rabbī-Gruppe*" see Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, 22–24, 24–25 (with additional words in Persian or Arabic), who noticed that this legend is particularly connected with the time of Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān's governorship (AH 45–53).

13. Seven bilingual *entagia*, Nessana, AH 54–57/674–77.[16] All begin *bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* ("In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful").

14. Arabic graffito, Ḥijaz (on pilgrimage route from Iraq), AH 56/676:[17]

> *Allahumma ighfir li-Jadhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Hubayra wa-kutiba li-sanat sitt wa-khamsīn.*
>
> O God, forgive Jadhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Hubayra, written in the year fifty-six.

15. Seven Arab–Sasanian coins of the governor Ḥakam ibn Abī l-'Āṣ, Fars and Khuzistan, AH 56–58/676–78. All bear the legend: *Allāh rabb al-ḥukm* ("God is the Lord of judgement").[18]

16. Arabic inscription on a dam near Ṭa'if, AH 58/678:[19]

> *Hādha l-sadd li-'abd Allāh Mu'āwiya amīr al-mu'minīn banāhu 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣakhr bidhn Allāh li-sanat thamān wa-khamsīn. Allahumma ighfir li-'abd Allāh Mu'awiya amīr al-mu'minīn wa-thabbithu w-unṣurhu wa-matti' l-mu'minīn bihi. kataba 'Amr ibn Ḥabbāb.*
>
> This dam is on behalf of the servant of God Mu'āwiya, the commander of the faithful; 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣakhr has built it with God's leave in the year fifty-eight. O God, forgive the servant of God Mu'āwiya, the commander of the faithful, strengthen him and help him, and let the faithful profit by him. 'Amr ibn Ḥabbāb has written [it].

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[16] *Nessana Papyri*, nos. 60–66.

[17] Sharafaddin, "Islamic Inscriptions Discovered on the Zarb Zubayda," 69, Plate 50; corrected by Fahmi, "Naqshān jadīdān min Makka al-mukarrama," 346–47, who considers the part containing the date to be damaged and the text rather to be of the second century AH.

[18] Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.86–87; Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, 67. Note the legend's pun on the governor's name.

[19] Miles, "Early Islamic Inscriptions near Ṭā'if," 237, 241; Grohmann, *Arabic Inscriptions*, 56–58; *idem*, *Arabische Paläographie*, 2.79.

17. Coin of Yazīd I, no place, year 1 (AH 61/681).[20] Obverse has standard profile of Khusrau II and bears his name; reverse has usual Sasanian iconography (fire altar, star and crescents etc.), but in the margin is written in Persian: "Year one of Yazīd."

18. Arabic graffito, near Karbala in Iraq, AH 64/683–84:[21]

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Allāh wa-kabbir kabīran wa-l-ḥamd lillāh kathīran. wa-subḥān Allāh bukratan wa-aṣīlan wa-laylan ṭawīlan Allahumma rabb Jibrīl wa-Mīkā'īl wa-Isrāfīl ighfir li-? ibn Yazīd al-As'adī mā taqaddama min dhanbihi wa-mā ta'akhkhara wa-li-man qāla amīn amīn rabb al-'ālamīn. wa-ktbt hādha l-kitāb fī shawwāl min sanat arba' wa-sittīn.*
>
> In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. God, magnify [Him] greatly and praise to God much. Praise be to God morning, evening and all night long. O God, Lord of Gabriel and Michael and Israfil, forgive ? ibn Yazīd al-As'adī for his sins, the earlier and the later ones, and whoever says amen amen, Lord of the worlds. I wrote (?) this writing in Shawwāl of the year sixty-four.

19. Two pieces of silk of Marwān, AH 65/684–85:[22]

> *{'abd} Allāh Marwān amīr al-mu'{min}īn*
>
> {Servant} of God Marwān, commander of the fai{thf}ul

[20]Mochiri, "A Sasanian-Style Coin of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya," 137–41; the coin is unusual in that it has no Arabic legend, Yazīd does not replace Khusrau on the obverse and the dating system is Sasanian. See the comments of Cook, "The Emergence of Islamic Civilization."

[21]Sanduq, "Ḥajar Ḥafnat al-Abyaḍ," 214; Grohamnn, *Arabische Paläographie*, 2.80. The phrase *mā taqaddama min dhanbihi wa-mā ta'akhkhara* is found in Qur'an xlviii.2 and is a common expression in early Arabic graffiti.

[22]Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, 2.81. Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, no. 36, assigns it to Marwān II, but Day, "The Ṭirāz Silk of Marwān," gives arguments for its attribution to Marwān I.

20. Three Arab–Sasanian coins of the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, Sistan, AH 66/685–86. The legend is *bism Allāh al-'azīz* ("In the name of God the Great").[23]

21. Two Arab–Sasanian coins of the governor 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Allāh, Bishapur, AH 66 and 67.[24] The legend is *bism Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* ("In the name of God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God").

22. An Arab–Sasanian coin of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, Baṣra, 66? AH.[25] The legend is *Muṣ'ab ḥasbuhu Allāh* ("God is his sufficiency").

23. Eighteen Arab–Sasanian coins of the Zubayrid governor of Baṣra 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar, Fars, AH 67–70/686–89.[26] All have the legend *Lillāh al-ḥamd* ("Unto God be praise").

24. Inscription on a bridge in Fusṭaṭ by the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, AH 69/688–89:[27]

> *Hādhihi l-qanṭara amara bihā 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān al-amīr. Allahumma bārik lahu fī amrihi kullihi wa-thabbit sulṭānahu 'alā mā tarḍā wa-aqarra 'aynahu fī nafsihi wa-ḥashamihi amīn. wa-qāma bi-binā'ihā Sa'd Abū 'Uthmān wa-kataba 'Abd al-Raḥmān fī ṣafar sanat tis' wa-sittīn.*
>
> This bridge was commissioned by the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān. O God, bless him in all his affairs, strengthen

[23]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.96–97. Note the legend's pun on the governor's name, though it is also found on coins of the governor Salm ibn Ziyād dated AH 68–70 (*ibid.*, 1.81).

[24]Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, 62; Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.97, only has the one of AH 66. For the significance of these coins see the entry on "Islam in the First Century AH" in Chapter 13 above.

[25]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.102. The date is unclear, but the coin must precede Muṣ'ab's death in AH 71 or 72.

[26]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.98–102; there is a coin of this governor dated 67, but the Kufic legend is mostly obliterated. *Ibid.*, 1.85, says that the same legend is probably found on a coin of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād dated 54, but it is unclear.

[27]Attested by Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2.146; Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, no. 8. The absence of any religious element, not even a Hijri date, make it likely that this inscription has been accurately transmitted.

his rule as You see fit and cheer him himself and his entourage, amen. Sa'd Abū 'Uthmān undertook the building of it, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān wrote [this] in Ṣafar of the year 69.

25. An Arab–Sasanian coin of the Kharijite rebel Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, Bishapur, AH 69.[28] It bears the typically Kharijite slogan *lā ḥukm illā lillāh* ("Judgement belongs to God alone"), prefixed with *bism Allāh*. And written in Persian: "Servant of God, Ktri, commander of the faithful."

26. An Arab–Sasanian coin of the Umayyad governor of Baṣra Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh, Bishapur, AH 71/690–91.[29] The legend is *bism Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* ("In the name of God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God").

Religious Declarations by Caliphs in Dated Writings of AH *72–135/691–752*

Once we come to the Marwanid period, dated Muslim texts become much more numerous and the content is more varied.[30] In particular, citations from the Qur'ān begin to appear (I indicate this by "= *Q.*," even if only a partial citation). Here I consider only those dated texts that contain religious declarations by caliphs beyond the *basmala* or a formulaic request (such as *aṣlaḥahu Allāh*/"may God make him

[28]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.112–13 (records four other coins of this rebel dated AH 75 from Ardashir Khurra). Also dated to this year is a bronze ewer bearing the inscription *min ṣan'at Yazīd mimmā 'amala bi-l-Baṣra sanat tis' wa-sittīn baraka* (Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, 2.72a, 82a fig. 47), but Julian Raby informs me that the style of manufacture dates it to the second century AH, so presumably a *mi'a* has been left off.

[29]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 1.108; discussed in the entry on "Islam in the First Century AH" in Chapter 13 above. Also dated to this year is the tombstone of 'Abbasa bint Jurayj (Hawary, "The Second Oldest Islamic Monument Known"), but the developed phraseology (e.g. *inna a'ẓam maṣā'ib ahl al-islām muṣībatuhum bi-l-nabī Muḥammad*) and the ornate script suggest that a *mi'a* has been omitted and that it should be read AH 171/787, which is when tombstones from Egypt start to become common.

[30]See Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, nos. 9–37, and the bibliography given in n. 2 above.

prosper"). Not included are an undated inscription of Hishām commemorating the construction of a reservoir near Suweida in southeast Syria,[31] and two fragmentary inscriptions: one of Yazīd II[32] and another possibly to be attributed to Walīd II.[33]

(i) The Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, built by 'Abd al-Malik, AH 72/691:[34]

OUTER FACE (SOUTH)

1. In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate,

2. There is no god but God alone,

3. He has no associate.

4. Say He is God the one, God the eternal. He did not beget and was not begotten, there is none equal to Him (= *Q.* cxii).

5. Muḥammad is the messenger of God,

6. May God incline (*ṣallā*) unto him ⊗

OUTER FACE (SOUTHWEST)

7. ll. 1 + 2 + 3 + 5

8. God and His angels incline unto the Prophet;

[31]Rihaoui, "Découverte de deux inscriptions arabes," 208.

[32]Sauvaget, "Les inscriptions arabes de la mosquée de Bosra," 55.

[33]*Idem*, "Notes de topographie omeyyade," 96–100.

[34]Kessler, "'Abd al-Malik's Inscription," 4–9; Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, no. 9. The division into lines is mine and does not correspond to that on the Dome; it allows me to avoid the repetitions and to make the division of content clearer. To facilitate comparison with the original text, I note the face on which the original appears (SOUTH, etc.).

OUTER FACE (WEST)

O you who believe, pray for him and give him salutations (= *Q.* xxxiii.56) ⊗ ll. 1 + 2

OUTER FACE (NORTHWEST)

9. Praise be to God who has not taken a son, and who has no companion in sovereignty nor a protector through dependence. Magnify him greatly (= *Q.* xvii.111) l. 5.

OUTER FACE (NORTH)

10. May God and His angels and His messengers incline unto him, and the peace and compassion of God be upon him ⊗ ll. 1 + 2 + 3.

OUTER FACE (NORTHEAST)

11. To Him belongs sovereignty and to Him belongs praise, He allots life and death, and He is omnipotent (= *Q.* lxiv.1 + lvii.2).

12. ll. 5 + 6 and accept his intercession on the day of the resurrection on behalf of his community ⊗

OUTER FACE (EAST)

13. ll. 1 + 2 + 3 + 5 + 6 ⊗ There built this dome the servant of God

OUTER FACE (SOUTHEAST)

14. 'Ab{d al-Malik... commander}[35] of the faithful in the year seventy-two, may God accept it from him and be pleased with him, amen, Lord of the worlds, to God belongs praise ⊗

[35]The caliph Ma'mūn substituted his own name here.

INNER FACE (SOUTH)

15. ll. 1 + 2 + 3 + 11 Muḥammad is the servant of God and His messenger.

INNER FACE (SOUTHEAST)

16. ll. 8 + 6 and the peace and compassion of God be upon him.

17. O people of the Book, do not exaggerate in your religion

INNER FACE (EAST)

and only say the truth about God. The Messiah Jesus son of Mary was only a messenger of God, and His word which He committed to Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in God and His messengers and do not say "three;" refrain,

INNER FACE (NORTHEAST)

it is better for you. God is only one god; he is too exalted to have a son. His is all that is in the heavens and on the earth. God suffices as a defender (= *Q.* iv.171).

INNER FACE (NORTH)

18. The Messiah will never disdain to be God's servant, nor will the favoured angels. Whoever disdains to serve Him and is proud, He will gather them all to Him (= *Q.* iv.172).

19. O God, incline unto your messenger and your servant Jesus son of Mary.

INNER FACE (NORTHWEST)

20. Peace on him the day he was born and the day he dies and the day he shall be raised alive (= *Q.* xix.15).

21. Such was Jesus son of Mary; [we have said it as] a statement of the truth concerning which they are in doubt. It is not for God to take a son, glory be to Him.

INNER FACE (WEST)

When He decrees a thing, He only says "be" and it is. God is my lord and your lord, so serve Him, that is an upright way (= *Q.* xix.34–36).

22. God is witness that there is no god but Him, as also are the angels and men of knowledge. He acts with justice; there is no god but Him the mighty the wise (= *Q.* iii.18).

INNER FACE (SOUTHWEST)

23. Religion with God is Islam. Those who received the scripture differed only after knowledge came to them, out of envy for one another. Whoever denies the signs of God [beware], for God is swift to call to account (= *Q.* iii.19).

(ii) Aniconic gold and silver coins, minted by 'Abd al-Malik, from AH 77/696:[36]

[36]Walker, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins*, 2.liii–lxx, 84, 104. In the period between their imitation of Byzantine/Sasanian models and their minting of aniconic coins (*ca.* AH 72–77), the Muslims produced a number of transitional types (see Bates, "First Century of Islamic Coinage"). *Ibid.*, 254, mentions two *dirhams* of AH 75/694 that bear the inscription: "Commander of the faithful, deputy of God" (*amīr al-mu'minīn khalīfat Allāh*).

Obverse centre: There is no god but God alone, He has no associate.

Obverse margin gold = reverse margin silver: Muḥammad is the messenger of God whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth that He might make it prevail over all religion (*silver adds:* even if the associators are averse) = *Q.* ix.33.

Reverse centre: God the one, God the eternal, He did not beget and was not begotten (*silver adds:* there is none equal to Him) = *Q.* cxii.

Reverse margin gold = obverse margin silver: In the name of God this *dīnār/dirham* was struck in the year....

(iii) Seven milestones on the Damascus–Jerusalem road from the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705):[37]

Bism All{āh al-raḥmān} al-raḥīm lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu Muḥammad rasūl Allāh. amara bi-tashīl hādhihi l-'aqaba 'abd Allāh 'Abd al-Malik amīr al-mu'minīn wa-'umilat 'alā yaday Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam fī l-muḥarram min sanat thalāth {wa-sab'īn}.

In the name of Go{d the Merciful} the Compassionate. There is no god but God alone, He has no companion, Muḥammad is the messenger of God. There has ordered the levelling of this pass the servant of God 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the faithful, and it has been accomplished at the hands of Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam in Muḥarram of the year three {and seventy}.[38]

[37]The following is the most complete and was published by Sharon, "An Arabic Inscription from the Time of 'Abd al-Malik." Four others are given in Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, nos. 14–17, and Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, 2.83; two more lie in Qatzrin in the Golan and will be published by Dr. Amikam Elad.

[38]Words within curly brackets are missing, since the top left and bottom right part of the stone are broken off. The latter half of the *basmala* is an obvious reconstruction; Sharon favours the year AH 73 rather than 83, since Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam, if he is to be identified with Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī l-'Āṣ, was dead by AH 80 (Caetani, *Chron.*, 965).

(iv) Arabic–Greek/Greek–Arabic and Arabic protocols, mostly from the time of Walīd I (705–15) to Yazīd II (720–24).[39] These have various formulas; all begin *bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, and commonly continue with all or part of the following:

> There is no god but God alone, He has no associate. He did not beget and was not begotten; there is none equal to Him (= *Q.* cxii.2–3). Muḥammad is the messenger of God whom he sent with guidance and the truth (= *Q.* ix.33).

and conclude with the name of the caliph/governor and the date.

(v) Mosque of Damascus, built by Walīd, AH 86–87/705–706:[40]

> *Rabbunā Allāh lā na'budu illā Allāh. amara bi-binā' hādha l-masjid wa-hadm al-kanīsa allatī kānat fīhi 'abd Allāh al-Walīd amīr al-mu'minīn fī dhī l-ḥijja sanat sab' wa-thamānīn.*
>
> *Bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm lā ikrāh fī l-dīn qad tabayyana al-rushd min al-ghayy fa-man yakfuru bi-l-ṭāghūt wa-yu'minu billāh fa-qad istamsaka bi-l-'urwa al-wuthqā lā infiṣāma lahā w-Allāh samī' 'alīm. lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu wa-lā na'budu illā iyyāhu. rabbunā Allāh waḥdahu wa-dīnunā al-islām wa-nabīyunā Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam. amara bi-bunyān hādha l-masjid wa-hadm al-kanīsa allatī kānat fīhi 'abd Allāh amīr al-mu'minīn al-Walīd fī dhī l-qa'da sanat sitt wa-thamānīn.*
>
> Our Lord is God, we worship only God. There has ordered the building of this mosque and the demolition of the church that was there the servant of God Walīd, the commander of the faithful, in Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year eighty-seven.
>
> In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. There is no compulsion in religion, the right way has become distinguished from error, and he who rejects false deities and

[39] *Arabic Papyri EL*, nos. 1–18, 31–33. See Grohmann, *Protokolle*, xxvii–xlvii.

[40] This inscription, no longer extant, is reported to us in two versions: a shorter one by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5.362–63, and a longer one by Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 1363); both are cited by Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, no. 18.

believes in God has grasped a firm handhold that will never break, God is [all-] hearing and knowing (= *Q.* ii.256). There is no god but God alone, he has no associate, we worship none but Him. Our lord is God alone and our religion is Islam and our prophet is Muḥammad, may God incline unto him and give him greeting. There has ordered the building of this mosque and the demolition of the church that was there the servant of God and commander of the faithful Walīd in Dhū l-Qa'da of the year eighty-six.

(vi) Mosque of Medina, rebuilt by Saffāḥ, AH 135/752:[41]

Bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu Muḥammad 'abduhu wa-rasūluhu arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuẓhirahu 'alā al-dīn kullihi wa-law kariha al-mushrikūn. amara 'abd Allāh amīr al-mu'minīn bi-taqwā Allāh wa-ṭā'atihi wa-l-'amal bi-kitāb Allāh wa-sunnat nabīyihi wa-bi-ṣilat al-raḥim wa-ta'ẓīm mā ṣaghghara al-jabābira min ḥaqq Allāh wa-taṣghīr mā 'aẓẓamū min al-bāṭil wa-iḥyā' mā amātū min al-ḥuqūq wa-imātat mā aḥyū min al-'udwān wa-an yuṭā' Allāh wa-yu'ṣā al-'abbād fī ṭā'at Allāh fa-l-ṭā'a lillāh wa-li-ahl ṭā'at Allāh wa-lā ṭā'a li-aḥad fī ma'ṣiyat Allāh yad'ū ilā kitāb Allāh wa-sunnat nabīyihi wa-ilā al-'adl fī aḥkām al-muslimīn wa-l-qasm bi-l-sawīya fī fay'ihim wa-waḍ' al-akhmās fī mawāḍi'ihā allatī amara Allāh bihā li-dhawī al-qurbā wa-l-yatāmā wa-l-masākīn wa-bn al-sabīl.

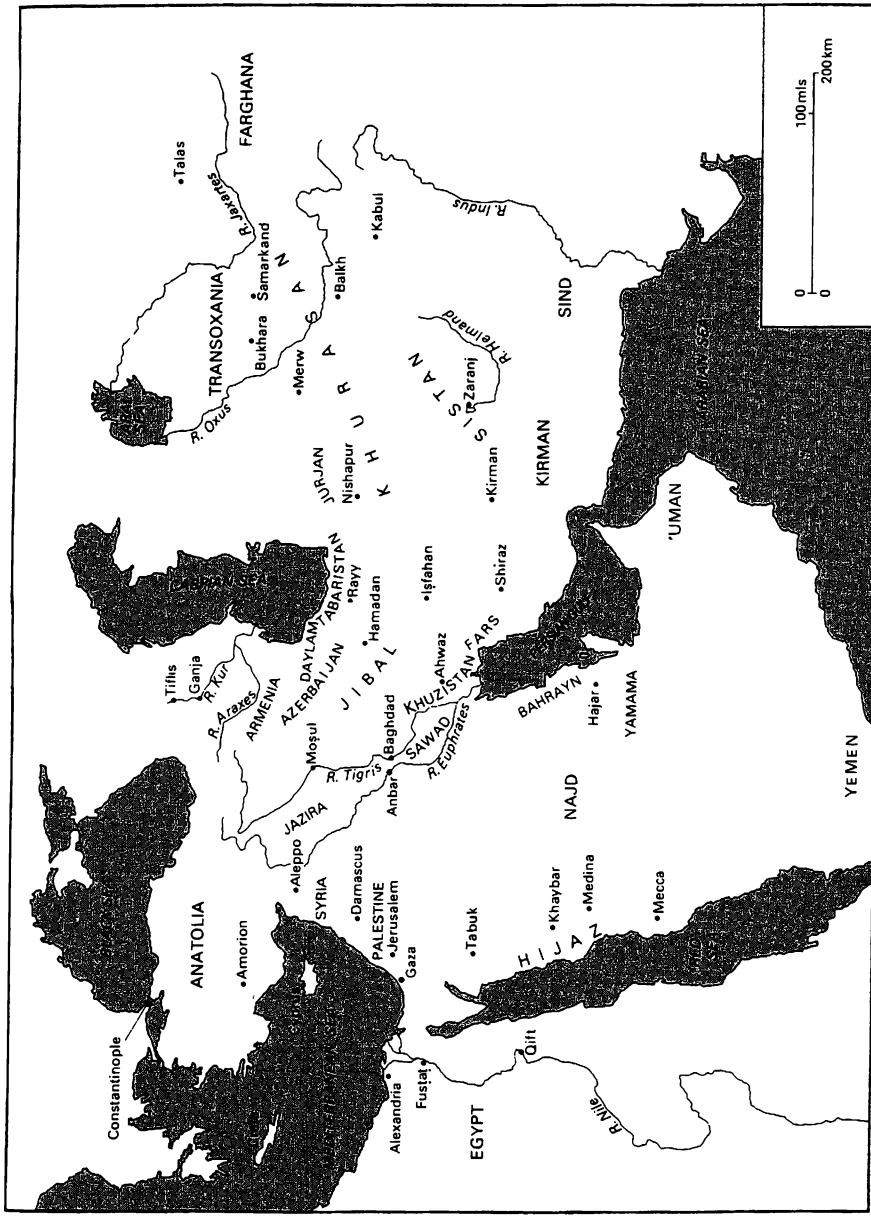
In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, there is no god but God alone, he has no associate. Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth that He might make it prevail over all religion even if the associators are averse (= *Q.* ix.33). The servant of God, the commander of the faithful,

[41]Ibn Rusteh, *Al-a'lāq al-nafīsa*, 70–71, who says that he read it himself in AH 260/874; at this time there had been added some words from the caliph Mahdī, who commissioned further work in 162/779 (*ibid.*, 73–74). See Combe *et al.*, *RCEA*, nos. 38, 46–47.

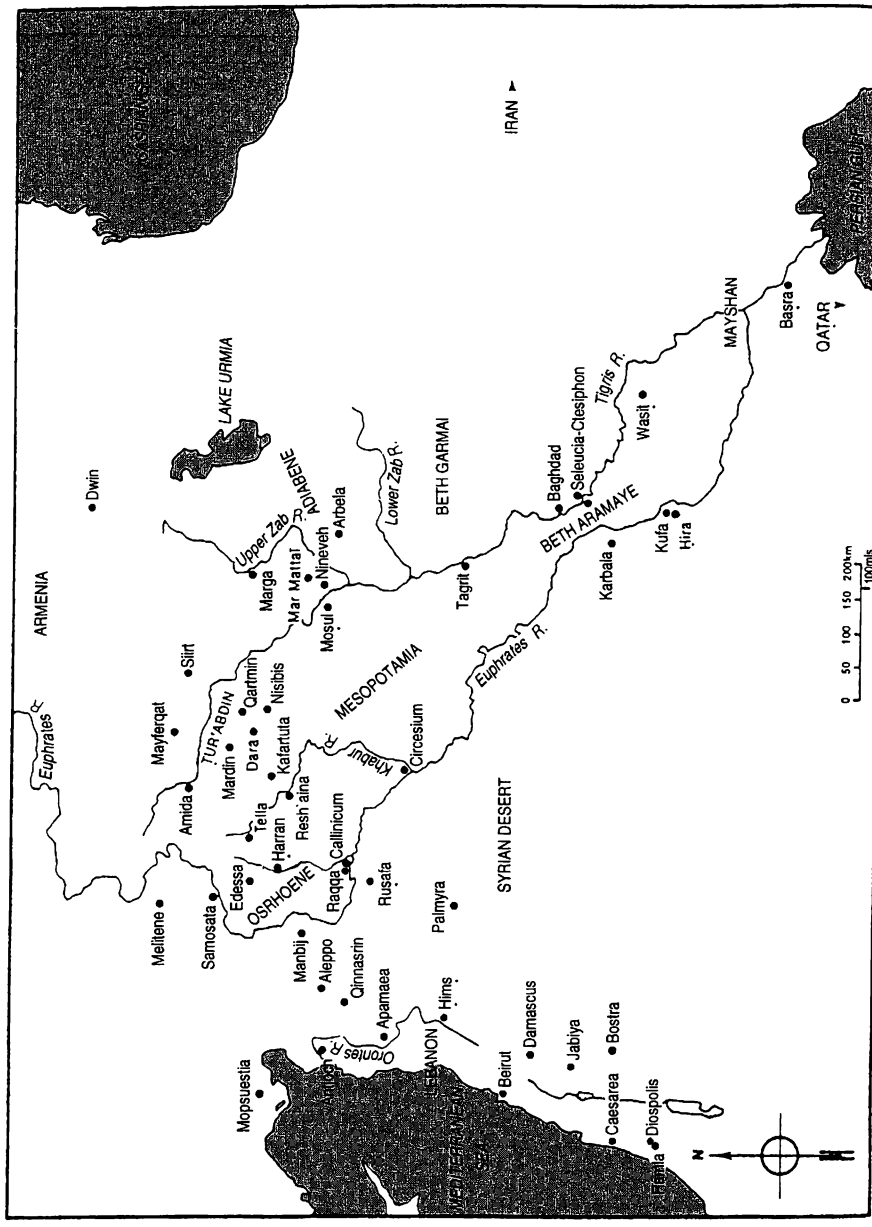
has ordered [that all] fear God and obey Him, act according to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, [respect] the ties of kinship, magnify God's truth which the tyrants have belittled and belittle the falsehood which they have magnified, revive the rightful things they suppressed and suppress the wrongful things they revived. [And he has ordered that] God be obeyed and that the worshippers be united in obedience to God, for obedience [is due] to God and to those obedient to God, but none should obey [when asked] to act against God. He (the caliph) calls [the people] to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, to justice in the ordinances of the Muslims, to equity in the allocation of their income and to the assignment of subsidies to the relatives [of the Prophet], orphans, the poor and the wayfarer in accordance with God's decree.[42]

[42]Cf. Qur'an viii.41; the last sentence has been more freely translated.

MAPS



Map 1
Provinces of the Early Islamic Middle East



Map 2
Syro-Mesopotamia in the Sixth–Eighth Centuries

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Where more than one edition is given, the first cited is the one used in this book. The language in which a modern translation is published will not be noted unless it differs from that of the title. Any abbreviated references appear in full in Bibliography II below. Note that the following is meant to be helpful, not exhaustive; for further information consult the literature cited in the first footnote of each chapter/section in Part IIA above, or in the first footnote in each section of Part IIB.

As regards Muslim works, which are not the main concern of this book, there is no attempt made to list translations or alternative editions.

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'Amr ibn Mattā and Ṣalība ibn Yūḥannā. *Kitāb al-majdal* = Henry Gismondi, ed. *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria, pars altera: Amri et Slibae textus* (Rome, 1896). This constitutes the historical section of the religious encyclopaedia usually attributed to Māri ibn Sulaymān (fl. 12th century), but actually by 'Amr ibn Mattā (fl. early 11th century). An edition of Chapter 2 Section 1 of this work has been prepared by Bo Holmberg and I am grateful to him for letting me see this; for further information see his article: "A Reconsideration of the *Kitāb al-Maǧdal*."

Anthony Rawḥ. *Passion* = Dick, ed./tr. "La Passion arabe de S. Antoine," 119–27/127–33. For the Ethiopic and Georgian versions (derived from the Arabic), as well as a late Arabic abridgement, see Peeters, "S. Antoine le néo-martyr," and *idem*, "L'autobiographie de S. Antoine."

Baḥira (Arabic) = Gottheil, ed./tr. "A Christian Bahira Legend," 252–68 and 56–102/125–66. There is a summary of the version found in Ms. Paris arab 215 by Baron Carra de Vaux, "La légende de Bahira ou un moine chrétien auteur du Coran," *ROC* 2 (1897), 439–54.

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Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid = Ms. Sinai arab 154, fols. 99–139; Margaret Dunlop Gibson, ed./tr. *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles, from a Eighth or Ninth Century MS in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, with a Treatise 'On the Triune Nature of God'* (Studia Sinaitica 7; Cambridge, 1899), 74–107/2–36. A new edition is being prepared by Samir Khalil Samir.

Hist. Patriarchs = B. Evetts, ed./tr. "History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria," *PO* 1 (1907), 105–214, 383–518; 5 (1910), 3–215; 10 (1915), 359–547. There is also an edition by C.F. Seybold, *Severus ben el-Moqaffa', Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (*CSCO* 52 and 59 *scr. arabici* 8–9; Paris, 1904–10). These two editions are based on the "Vulgate" recension in the fifteenth-century Ms. Paris arab 301–302; for the earlier Hamburg recension see the next entry. For other publications and manuscripts see den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr*, 14–27.

Hist. Patriarchs (Hamburg) = C.F. Seybold, ed. *Severus ibn al-Muqaffa'. Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte von S. Marcus bis Michael I (61–767), nach der ältesten 1266 geschriebenen Hamburger Handschrift im arabischen Urtext herausgegeben* (Hamburg, 1912). I cite this early recension only where it differs appreciably from the above.

John of Damascus. *Arabic Life* = Constantine Bacha, ed. *Sīrat al-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Dimashqī al-aṣlīya/Biographie de Jean Damascène* (Harissa, 1912); Georg Graf, tr. "Das arabische Original der *Vita* des hl. Johannes von Damascus," *Der Katholik* 93 (1913), 164–90; A.A. Vasiliev, tr. *Arabskaya versiya Žitiya sv. Ioanna Damaskina* (St. Petersburg, 1913). The principal derivative Greek biographies are described by Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 35–38.

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Ps.-Peter. *Apocalypse* = Mingana, ed./tr. "Apocalypse of Peter," 153–208/100–152, 283–348/215–82 (in Garshuni, Arabic written in Syriac script). The numerous, unpublished Arabic manuscripts of this text are listed by Graf, *GCAL*, 1.289–91.

Ps.-Pisentius of Qift. *Letter* = Augustin Périer, ed./tr. "Lettre de Pisuntios, évêque de Qeft, à ses fidèles," *ROC* 19 (1914), 80–87/88–92, 302–16/316–36 and 445–46. This text is most likely a translation from a Coptic original.

Ps.-Samuel of Qalamun. *Apocalypse* = Jean Ziadeh, ed./tr. "L'apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de Deir el-Qalamoun," *ROC* 20 (1915–17), 376–92/392–404. This text is most likely a translation from a Coptic original.

Ps.-Shenute. *Vision* = Amélineau, ed./tr. *Monuments*, 338–49. The *Vision* is contained within an Arabic *Life* of Shenute (*ibid.*, 289–478); the Coptic *Life* (*ibid.*, 1–91, and fragments 237–48) does not include the *Vision*.

Stephen of Ramla. *Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān* = Ms. BL Or. 4950, fols. 1–197 (written in AH 264/877). Most of Chapters V–VIII are edited by Louis Ma'luf, "Aqdam al-makhṭūṭāt al-naṣrānīya al-'arabīya," *al-Machriq* 6 (1903); description and discussion are given by Graf, *GCAL*, 2.17–19, and at greater length by Griffith, "Islam and the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*." An edition and translation have been prepared by Sidney Griffith.

Stephen the Sabaite. *Arabic Life* = Bartolomeo Pirone, ed./tr. *Leonzio di Damasco, Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaita* (Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae 4; Cairo and Jerusalem, 1991); C. Carta, tr. *Vita di S. Stefano Sabaita* (Quaderni de "La Terra Santa;" Jerusalem, 1983); a new edition with English translation has been prepared by John C. Lamoreaux. This is a translation from a Greek original (see the section on Greek sources below).

Strategius. *Capture of Jerusalem* = Gérard Garitte, ed./tr. *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614, recensiones arabicae* (*CSCO* 340–41, 347–48 *scr. arabici* 26–29; Louvain, 1973–74), gives four Arabic recensions (A = Ms. Sinai arab 428; B = Sinai arab 520; C = Sinai arab 531; V = Vatican arab 697). The Vatican text was first edited with notes by Paulus Peeters, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 9 (1923–24), 12–41; an epitome found in Ms. Paris arab 262 was published by Comte Couret, ed./tr. "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," *ROC* 2 (1897), 147–54/154–64. There is also a Georgian version, a translation from Arabic (it is

very close to recension A), which was first edited by N. Marr, *Antioḫ Stratig. Plênenie Ierousalima persami v 614* (St. Petersburg, 1909), and subsequently by Garitte with Latin translation: *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (*CSCO* 202–203 *scr. iberici* 11–12; Louvain, 1960); an abridged translation is given by F.C. Conybeare, "Antiochus Strategius' Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614," *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), 502–17. The related anonymous and incomplete Greek text on the Persian conquest in *PG* 86, 3236–68, suggest that at the base of all this lies a Greek original.

Theodore Abū Qurra. *Mīmar fī wujūd al-khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*, ed. Ignace Dick (Patrimoine arabe chrétien 3; Jounieh and Rome, 1982); ed. Louis Cheikho in *al-Machriq* 15 (1912), 757–74, 825–42. There is a translation by Georg Graf, *Des Theodor Abū Kurra Traktat über den Schöpfer und die wahre Religion* (Texte und Untersuchungen 14.1; Münster, 1913) and by George H. Khoury, *Theodore Abū Qurrah (c. 750–820): Translation and Critical Analysis of his 'Treatise on the Existence of the Creator and on the True Religion'* (Ph.D. thesis, Graduate Theological Union; Berkeley, 1991).

———. *Mīmar fī ikrām li-īqūnāt*, ed. Ignace Dick (Patrimoine arabe chrétien 10; Jounieh and Rome, 1986); ed./tr. Joannes Arendzen as *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico nunc primum editus latine versus illustratus* (Bonn, 1897). There is a translation by Georg Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra, Bischofs von Harrān* (Paderborn, 1910), 278–333, and one forthcoming by Sidney H. Griffith (being published by the Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies).

Theophilus of Alexandria. *Arabic Homily* = Fleisch, ed./tr. "Une homélie de Théophile d'Alexandrie," 377–419/376–418.

Timothy I. *Arabic Apology* = Putman, ed./tr. *L'église et l'Islam*, 1–51 (back)/213–77; Louis Cheikho, ed. "Al-muḥāwara al-dīnīya bayna l-khalīfat al-Mahdī wa-Ṭīmāthāūs al-jāthlīq," *al-Machriq* 19 (1921), 359–74, 408–418; repr. in *idem*, *Trois traités anciens de polémique et de théologie chrétiennes* (Beirut, 1923), 12–23. Caspar, ed./tr. "Les versions arabes du dialogue," 125–52/153–75, publishes this dialogue from the fourteenth-century Ms. Paris arab 82, which represents a different line of transmission from the nineteenth-century Beirut manuscript used by Putman and Cheikho. This is a reworking of a Syriac original (see the section on Syriac sources below).

Timothy the Stylite. *Arabic Life* = Ms. Paris arab 259, fols. 104–50; the manuscript is of different hands, the earliest of the fourteenth century. There is a Georgian version of this work, which has been edited by K. Kekelidze; I have seen only the reprint of it in his *Etiudebi jveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan*, vol.

6 (Tbilisi, 1960), 311–406 (Russian summary, 296–311). For the reference to the original publication see Garitte, "Bibliographie de K. Kekelidze," 457 (no. 81). An edition and translation of the *Arabic Life* is being prepared by John C. Lamoreaux.

ARABIC (*Judaeo-*)

Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ. *'Ishrūn maqāla* = Sarah Stroumsa, ed./tr. *Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ's Twenty Chapters ('Ishrūn Maqāla)* (Leiden, 1989).

Judaeo-Arabic Chronicle = Taylor Schlechter Collection, Cambridge University Library, Arabic Box 6(1), fol. 1; Moshe Gil, ed. *Ereṣ-isrā'ēl ba-tequfā ha-muslimit ha-ri'shōnā (634–1099)* (Tel Aviv, 1983), 2.1–3 (no. 1).

Ten Wise Jews (Judaeo-Arabic) = Leveen, ed./tr. "Mohammed and his Jewish Companions," 402–403/403–405; text emended by S. Gandz, "Notes on Mr. Leveen's Article," *JQR* 17 (1927), 235–36, and by Leveen, "Mohammed and his Jewish Companions: Additions and Corrections," *JQR* 17 (1927), 237.

ARABIC (*Samaritan*)

Abū l-Fatḥ. *Annales* = Edward Vilmar, ed. *Abulfathi annales samaritani quos ad fidem codicum manu scriptorum Berolinensium Bodlejani Parisini edidit* (Gotha, 1865); Paul Stenhouse, ed. *The Kitāb al-Tarīkh of Abū 'l-Fatḥ* (Ph.D. thesis; Sydney, 1980); *idem*, tr. *The Kitāb al-Tarīkh of Abū 'l-Fatḥ* (Mandelbaum Trust; Sydney, 1985).

ARCHAEOLOGY

Aphrodito Papyri = H.I. Bell, ed. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Volume IV: the Aphrodito Papyri* (London, 1910); *idem*, tr. "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam* 2 (1911), 269–83, 372–84; 3 (1912), 132–40, 369–73; 4 (1913), 89–96.

Arabic Papyri EL = Adolf Grohmann, ed./tr. *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 vols. (Cairo, 1934–62).

Coptic Papyrus = BL Coptic papyrus no. 89; Revillout, ed. "Mémoire sur les Blemmyes," 402; corrected by Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 123 (no. 280).

Khirbat al-Mird Papyri = Adolf Grohmann, ed./tr. *Arabic Papyri from Ḫirbet el-Mird* (Louvain, 1963).

Nessana Papyri = C.J. Kraemer, ed./tr. *Excavations at Nessana, Volume 3: Non-Literary Papyri* (Princeton, 1958).

Papyri ERF: the most important for our purposes are published by Adolf Grohmann, "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe," *Etudes de papyrologie* 1 (1932), 23–95 (PERF 555, 556–58, 561, 573); *idem*, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952), 115–16 (PERF 556, 558); *idem*, "Greek Papyri of the Early Islamic Period in the Collection of Archduke Rainer," *Etudes de papyrologie* 8 (1957), 5–40 (PERF 552–54, 559–61, 563–66, 570–72). These are also to be found in Emil Kiessling (continuing on from Preisigke and Bilabel), ed. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 383–84 (nos. 9576–78); vol. 8 (Wiesbaden, 1965), 86–92 (nos. 9748–60).

ARMENIAN

Ananias of Shirak. *On Easter*: of particular interest in this work is the autobiographical preface, which has been edited by K. Patkanian (*Ananiyi Shirakats'woy Mnats'ordk' Banits'*, St. Petersburg, 1877, 1–4; tr. F.C. Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak," *BZ* 6, 1897, 572–74), L. Alishan (*Hayapatum*, Venice, 1901, 232–33) and Jacob Dashian (*Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, 174–76; tr. H. Berbérian, "Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'i," *REA* 1, 1964, 189–94). The piece is found in numerous manuscripts but there is still no critical edition.

David of Dvin. *Passion*: for details of editions and a translation see Excursus D above and Peeters, *BHO*, 58 (no. 246).

Enoch the Just. *Vision* = J. Issaverdens, tr. *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Mss. of the Library of St. Lazarus* (Venice, 1901), 309–23. The edition (in H.S. Josepheanz, *Trésor des pères anciens et récents: écrits non canoniques de l'Ancien Testament*, Venice, 1896) was not available to me.

John Çatholicos (Yovhannes Draskhanakertets'i) = M. Emin, ed. *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (Moscow, 1853; repr. Tbilisi, 1912; repr. Delmar, New York, 1980); M.J. Saint-Martin, tr. *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI dit Jean Catholicos* (Paris, 1841); Krikor Maksoudian, tr. *History of Armenia* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1987).

Leo-'Umar. *Letter* (Armenian) = Chapters XIII–XIV of Lewond's *History* (see next entry); in this book I cite only from Jeffery, tr. "Ghevond's Text," 281–330.

Lewond = K. Ezian, ed. *Lewond erets' patmut'iwn* (St. Petersburg, 1887); G. Chahnazarian, tr. *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des arabes en Arménie par l'éminent Ghevond, Vartabed arménien* (Paris, 1856); K. Patkanian, tr. *Istoriya khalifov vardapeta Gevonda* (St. Petersburg, 1862); Zaven Arzoumanian, tr. *History of Lewond the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians* (Philadephia, 1982).

Michael the Syrian (Armenian tr.) = Victor Langlois, tr. *Chronique de Michel le Grand patriarche des syriens jacobites, traduite pour la première fois sur la version arménienne du prêtre Ischôk* (Venice, 1866); E. Dulaurier, tr. (of the years 573-717) "Extrait de la chronique de Michel le Syrien traduit de l'arménien," *JA* ser. iv, 12 (1848), 289-334; 13 (1849), 315-76; for editions see Thomson, *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature*, 69. This is an abridged version of the Syriac (see the section on Syriac sources below) made in 1248; for discussion see F. Haase, "Die armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen," *OC* 5 (1915), 60-82, 271-84.

Sebeos = K. Patkanian, ed. *Patmut'iwn Sebeosi* (St. Petersburg, 1879); Gevorg Abgarian, ed. *Patmut'iwn Sebeosi* (Erevan, 1979); K. Patkanian, tr. *Istoriya imperatora Irakla* (St. Petersburg, 1862); Heinrich Hübschmann, partial tr. *Zur Geschichte Armeniens und der ersten Krieger der Araber aus dem Armenischen des Sebeos* (Leipzig, 1875), 10–44 (repr. in *REA* 13, 1978–79, 313–53); F. Macler, tr. *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebêos* (Paris, 1904); Robert Bedrosian, tr. *Sebēos' History* (Sources of the Armenian Tradition; New York, 1985); C. Gugerotti, tr. *Sebeos, Storia* (Eurasiatica 4; Verona, 1990); Robert Thomson, tr. (with commentary by James Howard-Johnston) *Sebeos' History* (Translated Texts for Historians; Liverpool, forthcoming).

Stephen Asolik of Taron. *Universal History* = S. Malkhasian, ed. *Step'annos Taronets'woy patmut'iwn tiezerakan* (St. Petersburg, 1885); E. Dulaurier, tr. *Histoire universelle par Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron*, Part 1 (Paris, 1883); F. Macler, tr. *Histoire universelle par Etienne Asolik de Tarôn*, Parts 2–3 (Paris, 1917–20); H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt, tr. *Stephanos von Taron, armenische Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1907).

Thomas Artsruni = K. Patkanian, ed. *T'ovmayi vardapeti Artsrunwoy patmut'iwn Tann Artsruneats'* (St. Petersburg, 1887; repr. Tbilisi, 1917; repr. Delmar, New York, 1991); M.F. Brosset, tr. *Collection d'historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg, 1874–76), 1.1–266; Robert W. Thomson, tr. *Thomas Artsruni: History of the House of the Artsrunik'* (Detroit, 1985).

Vahan of Golt'n. *Passion* = M.J.A. Gatteyrias, tr. "Elégie sur les malheurs de l'Arménie et le martyre de Saint Vahan de Kogthen: Episode de l'occupation arabe en Arménie," *JA* ser. vii, 16 (1880), 177–214. The edition, in vol. 12 of the *Petite bibliothèque historique arménienne*, was not available to me; an abridged version appears in L. Alishan, *Hayapatum* (Venice, 1901), 250–53 (no. 202).

Chinese

Tu Yu. *T'ung tien*: for references to editions of this work and a translation of the portion that concerns the western barbarians, among them the Arabs, see Wakeman, *The Western Barbarians*. A translation of the section on the Arabs is given by Behbehani, "Arab–Chinese Military Encounters," 99–101.

Liu Hsü. *Chiu T'ang shu* (Zhonghua shuju; Beijing, 1975).

Ou-yang Hsiu. *Hsin T'ang shu* (Zhonghua shuju; Beijing, 1975).

Coptic

Isaac of Rakoti. *Life* = E. Porcher, ed./tr. "Vie d'Isaac patriarche d'Alexandrie de 686 à 689," *PO* 11 (1915), 301–90; E. Amélineau, ed./tr. *Histoire du patriarche copte Isaac* (Publications de l'école des lettres d'Alger 2; Paris, 1890).

Homily on the Child Saints of Babylon = Henri de Vis, ed./tr. "Panégyrique des Trois Saints Enfants de Babylone" in *idem*, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane*, vol. 2 (Coptica 5; Copenhagen, 1929; repr. in *Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte* 6; Louvain and Paris, 1990), 58–120.

Ps.-Athanasius. *Apocalypse* = Morgan Codex M602, fols. 52b–77b; Martinez, ed./tr. *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, 285–411/462–555 (includes edition of an Arabic version); Tito Orlandi, tr. *Omelie copte* (Corona Patrum 7; Torino, 1981), 73–91.

Ps.-Daniel (Coptic). *XIV Vision* = Henry Tattam, ed./tr. *Prophetae majores in dialecto linguae aegyptiacae memphitica seu coptica* (Oxford, 1852), 2.387–405; Joseph Bardelli, ed. *Daniel copto-memphitice* (Pisa, 1849), 103–12; A. Schulte, tr. *Die koptische Übersetzung der vier grossen Propheten untersucht* (Münster, 1892), 84–90. This Coptic version is actually a translation from Arabic, for which see Becker, ed./tr. "Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Danielbuch," 11–17/17–24; Macler, tr. "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," 163–76; Meinardus, tr. "Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel," 411–49. All editions and translations have the same paragraph numbering.

Ethiopic

John of Nikiu = H. Zotenberg, ed./tr. *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiou* (Paris, 1883); R.H. Charles, tr. *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 AD), Coptic Bishop of Nikiu* (London and Oxford, 1916). Originally written in Coptic, it was translated into Arabic and thence into Ethiopic, in which form alone it now survives.

Ethiopic Synaxary = Ignazio Guidi and Sylvain Grébaut, ed./tr. "Le synaxaire éthiopien," *PO* 1 (1905), 527–703; 7 (1911), 207–454; 9 (1913), 239–476; 15 (1921), 549–798; 26 (1950), 7–113; continued by Gérard Colin in *PO* 43 (1985–86), 326–507; 44 (1987), 6–163; 45 (1990), 8–245; 46 (1994–95), 302–467, 486–595; 47 (1996–97), 200–361. E.A. Wallis Budge, tr. *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church: a Translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1928).

Ps.-Peter (Ethiopic tr.). *Apocalypse* = Sylvain Grébaut, tr. "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine III: traduction du Qalêmentos," *ROC* 16–22 (1911–19), 26 (1927–28); for page nos. see Graf, *GCAL*, 1.292. This is a translation from an Arabic original (see the section on Christian Arabic sources above).

Georgian (*see also Excursus E above*)

John Moschus (Georgian tr.). *Pratum spirituale* = I. Abuladzé, ed. *Ioane Moshi. Limonari* (Tbilisi, 1960). Nos. 12–30 of the 30 narratives appended to this version (*ibid.*, 85–118) are translated into Latin by Garitte, "'Histoires édifiantes' géorgiennes," 406–23; an edition and translation of narrative no. 19 is given by Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des arabes," 19–22.

Michael the Sabaite. *Passion* = K. Kekelidze, ed. *Monumenta hagiographica georgica I: Keimena* (Tbilisi, 1918), 165–73; Peeters, Latin tr. "Passion de S. Michel," 66–77; Monica J. Blanchard, tr. "The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery," *Aram* 6 (1994), forthcoming, who demonstrates that it is a translation from Arabic.

Palestinian-Georgian Calendar = Gérard Garitte, ed./tr. *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34, Xe siècle* (Subsidia Hagiographica 30; Brussels, 1958).

Peter of Capitolias. *Passion* = K. Kekelidze, ed. "Žitie Petra Novago, muchenika Kapetolijskago," *Khristianskij Vostok* 4.1 (1915), 1–71; repr. in *idem*, *Etiudebi jveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan*, vol. 7 (Tbilisi, 1961), 177–223; Peeters, summary. "Passion de S. Pierre," 301–16. This is probably based on a Greek original.

Romanus the Neomartyr. *Passion* = Peeters, Latin tr. "S. Romain le néomartyr," 409–27 (French summary at 393–403). *Ibid.*, 393, gives references for an edition by a Professor Khakhanov and a Russian translation by K. Kekelidze. This probably derives from a Greek original via an Arabic intermediary.

Greek

Anastasius of Sinai. *Viae dux*. ed. K.H. Uthemann (*CCSG* 8; Turnhout and Leuven, 1981); *PG* 89, 36–309.

_____. *Questions*. *PG* 89, 329–824; in references I cite first the question number given in Ms. Moscow gr. 265, which is the earliest witness to Anastasius' *Questions* and is used in the edition by Joseph Munitz to appear in *CCSG*.

_____. *Dialogue against the Jews*. *PG* 89, 1204–81.

_____. *Narrat.* A1–42 = Nau, ed. "Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase," 60–87; *idem*, tr. "Les récits inédits du moine Anastase," 9–44. Nau edits 40 narratives of cycle A (I–XL); Mss. Vaticanus gr. 2592 and Vaticanus syr. 623 (dated 886) give 42 in an order very different to the two Paris manuscripts used by Nau.

_____. *Narrat.* B1–9 = Nau, ed. "Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase," 61–75 (XLIII–LI); summarised by *idem*, "Les récits inédits du moine Anastase," 52–60, and very briefly by Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins," 385–86.

———. *Narrat.* C1–18 = Ms. Vaticanus gr. 2592, fols. 123–35 (see Canart, "Nouveaux récits du moine Anastase," and *idem*, "Une nouvelle anthologie monastique"); a brief summary is given by Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins," 386–88. C4 (without prologue) and C11 are edited by Nau, "Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase," as XLI and LII respectively (and summarised by *idem*, "Les récits inédits du moine Anastase," 45–48, 60–61); C3 is edited and translated by Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des arabes," 25–26. An edition of all the narratives according to Vaticanus gr. 2592 is being prepared by Bernard Flusin and Philip Pattenden.

———. *Sermo* 3 ("In creationem hominis secundum imaginem Dei"). *PG* 89, 1152–1180.

Andreas Salos. *Life* = *Acta sanctorum* 28 May (Corollarium), 6.4–111; repr. in *PG* 111, 627–888. The apocalypse alone is edited and translated by Rydén, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse," 201–14/215–25 (= *PG* 111, 852–873).

Antiochus of Mar Saba. *Epistola ad Eustathium*. *PG* 89, 1422–28, which is prefixed to his *Pandecta*, *PG* 89, 1428–1849.

Bacchus of Mar Saba. *Passion* = F. Combefis, ed./tr. *Christi martyrum lecta trias* (Paris, 1666), 61–126 (notes, 126–54).

Chron. paschale = G. Dindorf, ed. *Chronicon paschale* (Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae; Bonn, 1832); Michael and Mary Whitby, tr. *Chronicon paschale 284–628 AD* (Translated Texts for Historians 7; Liverpool, 1989).

Clement of Alexandria. *Protreptica*. ed./tr. C.M. Mondésert (Sources chrétiennes 2; Paris, 1949).

Concilia sacra = J.D. Mansi, ed./tr. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759–98).

Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *De administrando imperio*. ed. Gy. Moravisik and tr. R.J.H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949).

Cosmas Indicopleustes. *Christian Topography*. ed./tr. W. Conus-Wolska (Sources chrétiennes 141; Paris, 1968–73).

Cosmas of Jerusalem. *Hymns* = H.M. Stevenson, ed. *Theodori Prodromi commentarios in carmina sacra melodorum Cosmae Hierosolymitani et Ioannis Damasceni* (Rome, 1888).

Cosmas of Jerusalem and John of Damascus. *Life* = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Bios Kosma kai Iōannou Damaskēnou," *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias* 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), 271–302.

Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo = McGiffert, ed. *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, 51–83.

Diathēkē tou Mōameth. ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias* 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), 401–403.

Doctrina Jacobi = Déroche, ed./tr. "Juifs et chrétiens," 47–229; Bonwetsch, ed. "Doctrina Iacobi," 1–91. I cite Bonwetsch's numbering of paragraphs when it is not in accord with that of Déroche.

Elias of Damascus. *Passion* = F. Combefis, ed./tr. *Christi martyrum lecta trias* (Paris, 1666), 155–206; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Syllogē palaistinēs kai syriakēs hagiologias," 42–59.

Evagrius Scholasticus. *Ecclesiastical History*. ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898).

Formula of Abjuration = Fredericus Sylburg, ed./tr. *Saracenica sive Moamethica* (Heidelberg, 1595), 74–91; repr. in *PG* 140, 124–36; Montet, ed./tr. "Un rituel d'abjuration des musulmans," 148–55 (from the same Vatican manuscript used by Sylburg, and two others).

George of Khoziba. *Life* = C. Houze, ed./tr. "Sancti Georgii Chozebitae confessoris et monachi vita auctore Antonio ejus discipulo," *AB* 7 (1888), 95–144; Leah di Segni, tr. *Nel deserto accanto ai fratelli. Vite di Gerasimo e di Giorgio di Choziba* (Magnano, 1991), 83–125.

George Syncellus. *Chronographia*. ed. G. Dindorf (Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae; Bonn, 1829); ed. Alden A. Mosshammer (Teubner; Leipzig, 1984).

Germanus. *Epistolae*. *PG* 98, 136–221. The letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis is also found in *Concilia sacra*, 13.108–28, and is translated by J. Mendham, *The Seventh Oecumenical Council* (London, 1849), 229–49.

———. *Homily* = Grumel, ed./tr. "Homélie de St. Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople," 191–99/199–205.

Herodotus. *Histories*. ed./tr. A.D. Godley (Loeb; London, 1921–25).

Horismos tou Mauia. ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias* 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), 403–404.

Jerusalem Martyrs (John) = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Martyrion tōn hagiōn hexēkonta neōn martyrōn," *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 12 (1892), 1–7; modern Latin translation in *Acta sanctorum* 21 Oct., 9.360–62; summary by E. Kurtz in his review of the edition of Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*BZ* 2, 1893, 316–17).

Jerusalem Martyrs (Simeon) = Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Syllogē palaistinēs kai syriakēs hagiologias," 136–63.

John of Damascus. *De haeresibus* = Kotter, ed. *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 4.19–67; *PG* 94, 677–780. For the chapter on Islam see Kotter, ed. *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 4.60–67; *PG* 94, 764–73; Voorhis, tr. "John of Damascus;" Sahas, ed./tr. *John of Damascus on Islam*, 132–41; Le Coz, ed./tr. *Jean Damascène: Ecrits sur l'Islam*, 210–27; Glei and Khoury, ed./tr. *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 74–83.

_____. *De fide orthodoxa* = Kotter, ed. *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 2.7–239; *PG* 94, 789–1228.

_____. *De imaginibus orationes* 1–3 = Kotter, ed. *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 3.65–200; *PG* 94, 1232–1420; D. Anderson, tr. *St. John of Damascus on the Divine Images: Three Apologies against Those who Attack the Divine Images* (New York, 1980).

_____. *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* = Kotter, ed. *Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 4.427–38; *PG* 96, 1336–48 (cf. *PG* 94, 1595–97); Voorhis, tr. "Discussion of a Christian and a Saracen;" Sahas, ed./tr. *John of Damascus on Islam*, 142–59; Atiya, tr. "Al-jadal al-dīnī al-masīḥī al-islāmī," 416–22; Glei and Khoury, ed./tr. *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, 169–83.

John Moschus. *Pratum spirituale* = *PG* 87, 2852–3112; M. Rouët de Journel, tr. *John Moschus: le Pré Spirituel* (Sources chrétiennes 12; Paris, 1946); D.C. Hesseling, partial tr. *Morceaux choisis du Pré Spirituel de Jean Moschos* (Paris, 1931). A critical edition is being prepared by Philip Pattenden for *CCSG*.

John Moschus. *Pratum spirituale*, "Prologue" = H. Usener, ed. *Der heilige Tychon und sonderbare Heilige* (Leipzig, 1907), 91–93; von Schönborn, tr. *Sophrone*, 243–44. There is also a Latin translation in *PL* 74, 119–22.

John Moschus. *Pratum spirituale* (Ms. Berlin gr. 221), nos. I–X = Nissen, ed. "Unbekannte Erzählungen," 354–67.

Maximus the Confessor. *Epistolae*. *PG* 91, 364–657.

———. *Ep.* 8, "End" = Robert Devréesse, ed./tr. "La fin inédite d'une lettre de saint Maxime: un baptéme forcé de Juifs et de Samaritains à Carthage en 632," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 17 (1937), 34–35/33–34; Joshua Starr, ed./tr. "St. Maximos and the Forced Baptism at Carthage in 632," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 16 (1940), 194/194–95; Dagron, tr. "Juifs et Chrétiens," 31.

———. *Relatio motionis* = *PG* 90, 109–29; Juan Miguel Garrigues, tr. "Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur," *Revue Thomiste* 76 (1976), 415–24.

Maximus of Tyre. *Dissertationes*. ed. J. Davis (London, 1740); ed. M.B. Trapp (Teubner; Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994).

Michael Psellus. *Historia syntomos*. ed./tr. W.J. Aerts (Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 30; Berlin, 1990).

Miracles of St. Demetrius = Lemerle, ed./tr. *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démetrius*, vol. 1.

Miracles of St. George = J.B. Aufhauser, ed. *Miracula S. Georgii* (Teubner; Leipzig, 1913); Festugière, tr. *Collections grecques de miracles*, 273–320. Nos. 6 and 7 are edited in *Acta sanctorum* 23 April, 3.xlii–xlv (Appendix), and no. 6 is reprinted therefrom in *PG* 100, 1201–12, and this in turn is translated by Sahas, "Gregory Dekapolites and Islam," 50–62.

Nicephorus = Mango, ed./tr. *Nikephoros*, which takes into account both the Vatican Ms. used by C. de Boor, ed. *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), 3–77, and of the London Ms. used by L. Orosz, ed. *The London Manuscript of Nikephoros' 'Breviarum'* (Budapest, 1948), 16–21.

Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, 858–67, 877–86). *Bibliotheca*. ed./tr. R. Henry, 6 vols. (Paris, 1959–71); partial tr. N.G. Wilson (London, 1994).

Procopius of Caesarea. *Buildings* = H.B. Dewing, ed./tr. *Procopius VII: Buildings* (Loeb; London, 1971).

———. *Wars* = H.B. Dewing, ed./tr. *Procopius I–V: History of the Wars* (Loeb; London, 1956-62).

Ps.-Daniel (Greek). *First Vision* = Berger, ed./tr. *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese*, 12–18 (edits the Montpelier Ms., which is then translated with extensive commentary in Chapter 8); 19–23 (gives the variant readings in the Bodleian Ms., which was originally edited by V. Istrin, *Oktrovenie Mefodiya Patarskago i apokrificheskie Videniya Daniila*, Moscow, 1897, 145–50, and is translated by Zervos, "Apocalypse of Daniel," 763–70); 24–26 (edits the Venice Marciana

Ms., which is considerably different). The Venice Ms. bears the title "First Vision of Daniel (*Daniēl horasis prōtē*), vision and apocalypse of Daniel the prophet," and I adopt this for the source.

Ps.-Methodius (Greek tr.). *Apocalypse* = A. Lolos, ed. *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976); corrected by Th. Frenz, "Textkritische Untersuchungen zu 'Pseudo-Methodius:' das Verhältnis der griechischen zur ältesten lateinischen Fassung," *BZ* 80 (1987), 54–58. A new edition by W.J. Aerts has been prepared for *CSCO* (see *idem*, "Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der 'Revelationes' des Pseudo-Methodius," *ZDMG supplement* 8, 1990, 123–30). The interpolation alone is given by Schmoldt, *Die Schrift vom jungen Daniel*, 278–83. See the section on Syriac sources below for details of the Syriac original.

Questions to Antiochus Dux. *PG* 28, 589–700.

Short Chron. 818 = A. Schoene, ed. *Eusebi chronicorum libri duo* (Berlin, 1875), vol. 1 (liber prior), Appendix IV, 64–101; Mai, ed./tr. *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 1.2, 1–39.

Sophronius. *Epistola synodica*. *PG* 87, 3148–3200. The version to Patriarch Sergius is also preserved in the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, for which see now Rudolphe Riedinger, ed. *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium concilii* (Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ser. ii, vol. 2.1; Berlin, 1990), 410–94. For the transmission of this text see *idem*, "Die Epistula Synodica des Sophronios von Jerusalem im Codex Parisinus BN Graecus 1115," *Byzantiaka* (Thessaloniki) 2 (1982), 143–54.

———. *Christmas Sermon* = H. Usener, ed. "Weihnachtspredigt des Sophronios," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 41 (1886), 500–16; repr. in *idem*, *Kleine Schriften IV* (Berlin, 1913), 162–77. There is a Latin translation in *PG* 87, 3201–12, and a German one by B. Steidle, "Weihnachtspredigt des heiligen Sophronius," *Benediktinische Monatschrift* (1938), 417–28. See Nissen, "Sophronios-Studien II," 89–93, for corrections to Usener's edition.

———. *Holy Baptism* = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Tou en hagiois patros hēmōn Sōphroniou archiepiskopou Hierosolymōn logos eis to hagion baptisma," *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias* 5 (St. Petersburg, 1898; repr. Brussels, 1963), 151–68; Antonino Gallico, tr. *Le omelie* (Rome, 1991), 188-207. See Nissen, "Sophronios-Studien II," 99–103, for corrections to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition.

———. *Anacreontica* = Marcellus Gigante, ed./Italian tr. *Sophronii anacreontica* (Rome, 1957). The elegy on the fall of Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 102–107) is also edited and translated by Comte Couret, "La prise de Jérusalem par les

Perses," *ROC* 2 (1897), 139–40/141–43. Two further poems on Jerusalem (Gigante, *Anacreontica*, 118-27) are also edited and translated by Herbert Donner, "Die anakreontischen Gedichte Nr. 19 und Nr. 20 des Patriarchen Sophronios von Jerusalem," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 10 (Heidelberg, 1981), 5-64.

———. *Miracles* = *PG* 87, 3424–3676; N. Fernandez Marcos, ed. *Los thaumata de Sofronio* (Madrid, 1975).

———. *Life of John the Almsgiver*: preserved in the first fifteen paragraphs of an anonymous paraphrase of the original (ed. H. Delehaye, "Une Vie inédite de saint Jean l'Aumônier," *AB* 45, 1927, 19–25; tr. Elisabeth Dawes and Norman Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford, 1948, 199–206) and in an abridged synaxary entry (ed. E. Lappa-Zizicas, "Un épitomé de la Vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier par Jean et Sophronius," *AB* 88, 1970, 265–78). Leontius of Neapolis made use of Sophronius' *Life* in his own biography of John the Almsgiver (see Halkin, *BHG*^{3}, 2.19, no. 886).

Sozomenus. *Historia ecclesiastica*. ed. R. Hussey, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1860).

Stephen of Alexandria. *Horoscope* = Usener, ed. *De Stephano Alexandrino*, 17–31; repr. in *idem*, *Kleine Schriften III*, 266–87. There is no translation bar of a very small portion by O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1959), 158–59.

Stephen of Damascus. *Passion of the Twenty Maryrs of Mar Saba* = *Acta sanctorum* 20 March, 3.2–14 (Appendix, containing the Greek text), 3.166–78 (Latin translation); Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. "Syllogē palaistinēs kai syriakēs hagiologias," 1–41.

Stephen the Sabaite. *Greek Life* = *Acta sanctorum* 13 July, 3.531–613.

Stephen the Younger. *Life*. *PG* 100, 1069–1186.

Suidae Lexicon. ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Lexicographi graeci 1; Leipzig, 1928–38).

Synaxary CP = *Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano, opera et studio Hippolyti Delehaye* in *Acta sanctorum*, "Propylaeum Novembris" (Brussels, 1902).

Theodore Abū Qurra. *Greek Opuscula*, nos. 1–42 = *PG* 97, 1461–1601, except no. 18, which is a version of the *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* attributed to John of Damascus (see *PG* 94, 1595–97). The contents of those *opuscula* apparently directed at Muslims are summarised by Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins*, 93–105, and edited and translated by Glei and Khoury, *Johannes*

Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra, 86–165. A number are translated wholly or in part by Ducellier, *Miroir de l'Islam*, 112–58. On the Georgian version of these texts see Caspar *et al.*, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien" (1980), 290–91.

Theodore of Sykeon. *Life* = A.J. Festugière, ed./tr. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* (Subsidia Hagiographica 48; Brussels, 1970); Elisabeth Dawes and Norman Baynes, tr. (of Chapters 1–148) *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), 88–185.

Theophanes = de Boor, ed. *Theophanis chronographia*, vol. 1; Harry Turtledove, tr. (of years 602–813) *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982); Anthony R. Santoro, tr. (of years 717–803) *Theophanes' chronographia: a Chronicle of Eighth-Century Byzantium* (Maine, 1982); Mango and Scott, tr. *Theophanes* (Mango is responsible for the years 602–813).

Theophilus of Edessa. *Peri katarchōn polemikōn*: this work only exists in fragments; the preface to the second edition has been published by Cumont, *CCAG* 5.1, 234–38.

Theophylact Simocatta. *History*. ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887; repr. Stuttgart, 1972); tr. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986).

Trophies of Damascus = Bardy, ed./tr. "Trophées de Damas."

Hebrew

Abraham ibn Daud. *Sefer ha-qabbālā* = Cohen, ed./tr. *Book of Tradition*; Jaime Beges, tr. *Sefer ha-kabbalah, libro de la tradición* (Textos medievales 31; Valencia, 1972).

Bustanai Legend = G. Margoliouth, ed./tr. "Some British Museum Geniza Texts," *JQR* 14 (1902), 304–305/305–307 ('Umar I meets Bustanai and appoints him over the Jews of Iraq); E.J. Worman, ed./tr. "The Exilarch Bustānī," *JQR* 20 (1908), 211–15 (very similar account, though from a different manuscript).

Book of Zerubbabel = Israel Levi, ed./tr. "L'apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroès," *Revue des études juives* 68 (1914), 131–44/144–60; *ibid.*, 69 (1919), 108–21, and 71 (1920), 57–63, contains discussion; Even-Shmuel, ed. *Midreshē ge'ullā*, 71–88. There is another recension, which is edited by Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 2.54-57, and translated by Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, 2.81–88. For an English translation and discussion see Martha Himmelfarb, "Sefer Zerubbabel," in David Stern and Mark J. Mirsky, eds. *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia, 1990), 67–90.

Eliezer ben Qilir. *Apocalyptic Poem* = Fleischer, ed. "Le-fitarōn," 412–26.

Gaonic Responsa (Moda'i) = H. Moda'i, ed. *Sha'arē ṣedeq* (Salonica, 1792).

Gaonic Responsa (Müller) = Joel Müller, ed. *Teshūvōt ge'ōnē mizrāḥ ū-ma'arāv* (Berlin, 1881).

Jewish Apocalypse on the Umayyads = Israel Levi, ed./tr. "Une apocalypse judéo-arabe," *Revue des études juives* 67 (1914), 178/179.

Mishna: I use the standard format for references; a good translation is H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford, 1933).

On That Day = Ginzberg, ed. *Genizah Studies*, 1.310–12; Even-Shmuel, ed. *Midreshē ge'ullā*, 158–60; Lewis, tr. "On That Day: a Jewish Apocalyptic Poem," 198–200. A longer version of this poem is edited by Yahalom, "'Al toqpān shel yeṣīrōt sifrūt," 130–33.

Pesiqta rabbati = Braude, tr. *Pesikta rabbati*.

Ps.-Daniel (Judaeo-Byzantine). *Vision* = Ginzberg, ed. *Genizah Studies*, 1.313–23; Even-Shmuel, ed. *Midreshē ge'ullā*, 249–52; Sharf, tr. "A Source for Byzantine Jewry under the Early Macedonians," 303–306.

Ps.-Jonathan. *Targum* = E.G. Clarke *et al.*, ed. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Ktav, 1984); Maher, tr. (of Genesis) *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*; for other editions and translations see *ibid.*, 168–69. This targum is a translation, with interpretative/haggadic additions, of the Hebrew Pentateuch.

Rabbi Eliezer. *Chapters* = A.A. Broda, ed. *Pirqē de-Rabbī El'āzār* (Lemberg, 1874); Chaim M. Horowitz, ed. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer: a Complete Critical Edition* (an edition of 200 photocopies of the editor's original unpublished Ms., Makor Publishing; Jerusalem, 1972); Friedlander, English tr. *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (see xiv–xv for other editions); Miguel Pérez Fernández, tr. *Los capítulos de Rabbí Eliezer* (Valencia, 1984).

Sherira Gaon. *Letter* = Neubauer, ed. *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, 1.3–41; Aaron Hyman, ed. *Iggeret Rav Sherira gaon* (London, 1910); Benjamin M. Lewin, ed. *Iggeret Rav Sherira gaon* (Haifa, 1921); L. Landau, tr. *Epitre historique du R. Scherira Gaon* (Anvers, 1904).

Signs of the Messiah = Marmorstein, ed./tr. "Signes du Messie," 181–84/184–86.

Simon ben Yoḥai. *Secrets* = Jellinek, ed. *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 3.78–82; Eisenstein, ed. *Ozar Midrashim*, 2.555–57; Wünsche, tr. *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, 3.146-54; Lewis, partial tr. "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," 321–30. S. Wertheimer, *Battē midrashōt* (Jerusalem, 1894), 2.25–26, published a Geniza fragment containing a variant version of the opening paragraphs of this text. Even-Shmuel's edition (*Midreshē ge'ullā*, 187–98) represents an attempt to create an *Urtext* from the different versions, but the result is effectively a new recension.

———. *Midrash of the Ten Kings* = Eisenstein, ed. *Ozar Midrashim*, 2.461–66, which is taken from Chaim M. Horvitz, ed. *Bēt 'eqed ha-aggadōt* (Frankfurt, 1881), 1.16–33; Lewis, partial tr. "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," 321–30.

———. *Prayer* = Jellinek, ed. *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 4.117–26; Eisenstein, ed. *Ozar Midrashim*, 2.551–55; Even-Shmuel, ed. *Midreshē ge'ullā*, 268–86; Wünsche, tr. *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, 3.154-69; Lewis, tr. "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," 311–20.

Talmud = the Babylonian Talmud unless I specify the Jerusalem version; I use the standard format for references.

Ten Wise Jews (Hebrew) = Mann, ed./tr. "A Polemical Work against Karaite and other Sectaries," 139–40/146–47; Marmorstein, ed. "David ben Merwans Religionsphilosophie," 60.

Yoḥannan ha-Kohen. *Pīyūṭīm* = Weissenstern, ed. *Pīyūṭē Yōḥannan ha-Kohen.*

Latin

Acta sanctorum. ed. J. Bollandianus *et al.* (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940). A number of Greek texts are also published in this collection.

Adnotatio de Mammet = Diaz y Diaz, ed. "Textos antimahometanos," 153. The "Epistola Joannis Spalensis Alvaro directa" in which this note appears is edited by Enrique Florez, *España sagrada*, vol. 11 (Madrid, 1753), 142-46, and by Jose Madoz, *Epistolario de Alvaro de Córdoba* (Madrid, 1947), 165–71.

Adomnan. *De locis sanctis* = L. Bieler, ed. *Itinera et alia geographica* (Corpus christianorum series latina 175; Turnhout, 1965), 177–234 (no. 6); T. Tober and A. Molinier, eds. *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones terrae sanctae*

(Geneva, 1879), 141–210; Geyer, ed. *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi III–VIII*, 221–97; D. Meehan, ed./tr. *Adamnan's De locis sanctis* (Scriptores latini hiberniae 3; Dublin, 1958); T. Wright, partial tr. *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 1–12; Wilkinson, tr. *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 93–116.

Alcuin. *Epistolae*. *PL* 100, 139–512; ed. E. Dümmler (*MGH epist. IV Karol aevi II*; Berlin, 1895). These are translated, with some omissions, by S. Allott, *Alcuin of York c. AD 732 to 804: His Life and Letters* (York, 1974).

Arnobius. *Adversus gentes*. ed. A. Reiffenscheid (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 4; Vienna, 1875).

Bahira (Latin) = Bignami-Odier and Levi Della Vida, ed. "Version latine de l'apocalypse de Serge-Bahira," 139–48.

Bede. *Opera historica*. ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896).

_____. *Opera quae supersunt omnia*. ed. J. Giles (London, 1844).

Boniface. *Letters* = M. Tangl, ed. *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* (*MGH epist. Merov. et Karol. aevi 1*; Berlin, 1892); E. Emerton, tr. *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940).

Chron. Byz.-Arab 741 = J. Gil, ed. *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum I* (Madrid, 1973), 7–14; Enrique Florez, ed. *España sagrada*, vol. 6 (Madrid, 1751), 422-32 (Appendix X); T. Mommsen, ed. *Continuatio Byzantia Arabica ad annum DCCXLI* (*MGH auctores antiquissimi* 11.2 *chronica minora saeculi IV–VII*; Berlin, 1894), 334–59. This text is translated in Excursus B above.

Chron. Hisp. 754 = J. Gil, ed. *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum I* (Madrid, 1973), 16–54; T. Mommsen, ed. *Continuatio Hispana ad annum DCCLIV* (*MGH auctores antiquissimi* 11.2 *chronica minora saeculi IV–VII*; Berlin, 1894), 334–68; Pereira, ed./tr. *Crónica mozárabe de 754*. *Ibid.*, 18–20, cites earlier editions; there is an English translation by Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 111–58.

Codex Carolinus. ed. W. Grundlach (*MGH epist. III Merov. et Karol aevi I*; Berlin, 1892).

Eulogius. *Liber apologeticus martyrum* = J. Gil, ed. *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum II* (Madrid, 1973), 475–95; *PL* 115, 851–70.

_____. *Memoriale sanctorum* = J. Gil, ed. *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum II* (Madrid, 1973), 363–459; *PL* 115, 735–818.

Fredegar = B. Krutsch, ed. *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica* (*MGH scr. rerum Merov.* 2; Hannover, 1888), 1–193; Hadrill, ed./tr. (omitting Books 1–3) *Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*; Kusternig, ed./tr. (omitting Books 1–2.LII) *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, 44–271.

Istoria de Mahomet = Diaz y Diaz, ed. "Textos antimahometanos," 157–59; Eulogius, *Liber apologeticus martyrum*, §16; Colbert, tr. *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 336–38; Wolf, ed./tr. "Earliest Latin Lives of Muḥammad," 96–97/97–99.

Leo-'Umar. *Letter* (Latin) = Symphorianus Champerius, *De triplici disciplina cuius partes sunt philosophia naturalis, medicina, theologia, moralis philosophia, integrantes quadruvium* (Lyons, 1508). It was reprinted in *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, vol. 17 (Lyons, 1677), 44–47, and in *PG* 107, 315–24, but both wrongly attribute it to Leo VI and omit parts of the original introduction.

Liber pontificalis. ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Rome, 1886–92); tr. (to the end of the ninth century) Raymond Davis (Translated Texts for Historians 6, 13, 20; Liverpool, 1989, 1992, 1995).

Martin I. *Epistolae*. *PL* 87, 119–204.

Morienus the Greek. *Testament of Alchemy* = Lee Stavenhagen, ed./tr. *A Testament of Alchemy, being the Revelations of Morienus, ancient adept and hermit of Jerusalem, to Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mu'awiya, king of the Arabs, of the divine secrets of the magisterium and accomplishment of the alchemical art* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1974).

Passion of the Sixty Martyrs of Gaza = Delehaye, ed. "Passio sexaginta martyrum," 300–303.

Paul Albar. *Indiculus luminosus*. *PL* 121, 513–56; J. Gil, ed. *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorm I* (Madrid, 1973), 270–315.

Paul the Deacon. *Historia Langobardorum*. ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz (*MGH scr. rerum Lang. et Ital. saeculi VI–IX*; Hannover, 1878), 45–187; W.D. Foulke, tr. *History of the Langobards* (Philadelphia, 1907).

Tultusceptru de libro domni Metobii = Diaz y Diaz, ed. "Textos antimahometanos," 163–64; Wolf, ed./tr. "Earliest Latin Lives of Muḥammad," 99–100/100.

Willibald. *Life* = O. Holder-Egger, ed. *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis* (*MGH scriptores* 15.1; Hannover, 1887), 86–106; T. Tober and A. Molinier, eds., *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones terrae sanctae* (Geneva, 1879), 243–97; partial translations by T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 13–22, and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 125–35.

PERSIAN (*Middle unless stated otherwise*)

Bahman yasht = Behramgore T. Anklesaria, ed./tr. *Zand-î Vohûman Yasn and Two Pahlavi Fragments* (Bombay, 1957); K.A. Nosherwan, ed./Gujarati tr. *The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohūman Yašt* (Bombay, 1903); West, tr. *Pahlavi Texts*, 1.191–235.

Bundahishn = Behramgore T. Anklesaria, ed./tr. *Zand-ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (Bombay, 1956). I also use H.W. Bailey, transcription/tr. *The Greater Bundahišn* (Ph.D. thesis; Oxford, 1933), and West's translation of the shorter, more corrupt Indian Bundahishn in *Pahlavi Texts*, 1.3–151. For further information on editions and translations see *EIr*, *s.v.* "Bundahišn."

Dēnkard = D.M. Madan, ed. *The Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay, 1911); M.J. Dresden, ed. *Dēnkart: a Pahlavi Text Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript B of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay* (Wiesbaden, 1966); West, tr. *Pahlavi Texts*, 4.3–171 (Book 8), 4.172–397 (Book 9); 5.3–118 (Book 7), 5.119–30 (Book 5); Jean de Menasce, tr. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart* (Paris, 1973); Shaul Shaked, transcription/tr. *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI) by Aturpāt-i Ēmētān* (Persian Heritage Series 34; Boulder, Colorado, 1979). For further information on editions and translations see *EIr*, *s.v.* "Dēnkard."

Emed i Ashawahishtan. *Rivāyat* = Behramgore T. Anklesaria, ed. *Rivâyat-î Hêmît-î Asavahistân, Vol. 1: Pahlavi Text* (Bombay, 1962); Nezhat Safa-Isfehani, transcription/tr. *Rivāyat-i Hēmīt-i Ašawahistān: a Study in Zoroastrian Law* (Harvard Iranian Series 2; Harvard, 1980).

Firdawsī. *Shāhnāme* (Tehran, 1934–36), which is a revision and completion of J.A. Vuller's Leiden 1877 edition; abridged translation by Levy, *The Epic of the Kings*. For the numerous other editions and translations, most partial, see *EIr*, *s.v.* "Šāh-nāma." This is a New Persian text that draws on Middle Persian material, whether directly or via Arabic translations.

Jāmāsp nāmag = J.J. Modi, ed./tr. *Jâmâspi, Pahlavi, Pâzend and Persian Texts* (Bombay, 1903), 1–17/19–53; H.W. Bailey, transcription/tr. "To the Zamasp-Namak," *BSOAS* 6 (1930–32), 55–60, 581–86 (with commentary at 60–85, 586–600); French translation with metrical form restored by Benveniste, "Une apocalypse pehlevie."

Manushchihr. *Dādistān ī dēnīg* = Tahmuras D. Anklesaria, ed. *The Dadistan-i Dinik: Part 1, Pursišn I-XL* (Bombay, 1913), and P.K. Anklesaria, ed. *A Critical Edition of the Unedited Portion of the Dādestān-ī Dīnīk* (Ph.D. thesis; London, 1958); West, tr. *Pahlavi Texts*, 2.1–276. For further information on editions and translations see *EIr*, *s.v.* "Dādestān i Dēnīg."

Narshakhī. *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*: I simply cite Richard N. Frye, tr. *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954). There is an edition by Professor Razavi (Tehran, 1939), and a Russian translation by V. Lykoshin (Tashkent, 1897). This text is a New Persian abridgement of an Arabic original.

Pahlavi Ballad on the End of Times = Jehangir C. Tavadia, transcription/tr. "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi," *JRAS* 1955, 30–31/31–32 (with commentary at 32–36); J.M. Jamasp-Asana, ed. *The Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex Mk*, Part 2 (Bombay, 1913), 160–61; Bailey, tr. *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, 195–96.

Ps.-Daniel (Judaeo-Persian). *Apocalypse* = H. Zotenberg, ed./tr. "Geschichte Daniels. Ein Apokryph," in A. Merx, ed. *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des alten Testaments*, vol. 1.4 (Halle, 1867–69), 386–427; Darmesteter, partial ed. (transcribed into Persian)/tr. "L'apocalypse persane de Daniel," 409–12/413–17; Jellinek, tr. (from Zotenberg's edition) *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 5.117–30; Macler, tr. "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," 43–53; Wünsche, tr. (from Jellinek's Hebrew translation) *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, 2.57-78.

Tārīkh-i Sīstān (New Persian). ed. Muḥammad Bahār (Tehran, 1935); tr. L.P. Smirnovoy (Moscow, 1974); tr. Milton Gold (Persian Heritage Series 20; Rome, 1976).

Syriac (*Western*)

Athanasius of Balad. *Letter* = Nau, ed./tr. "Littérature canonique syriaque inédite," 129–30/128–29.

Baḥira (Syriac) = Gottheil, ed./tr. "A Christian Bahira Legend," 202–42/203–52. Gottheil edits the complete Jacobite Ms. Sachau 87 and the defective Nestorian Ms. Sachau 10.

Bar Hebraeus. *Chron. eccles.* = Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas J. Lamy, ed./tr. *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 3 vols. (Paris and Louvain, 1872–77).

_____. *Chron. syr.* = Paul Bedjan, ed. *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum* (Paris, 1890); E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû 'l-Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his political history of the world* (London, 1932), which comprises a translation (vol. 1) and facsimile (vol. 2) of Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 52. There is a recent

reprint of Bedjan's edition by the St. Ephrem der Syrer Kloster of Holland entitled *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus/Maktbānūtzabnē d-Bar 'Ebrāyā* (Glane/Losser, 1987).

Chron. Maronite = E.W. Brooks, ed./J.B. Chabot, tr. *Chronicon Maroniticum* (*CSCO* 3–4 *scr. syri* 3–4: Paris, 1904), 43–74/37–57. Notices pertaining to the seventh century are translated by Nöldeke (with edition), "Zur Geschichte der Araber," 89–94/94–98; Nau, "Opuscules maronites," 322–26; Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 29–35.

Chron. Zuqnin = J.B. Chabot, ed. *Incerti auctoris chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum II* (*CSCO* 104 *scr. syri* 53; Paris, 1933); French translation with same title by Robert Hespel (*CSCO* 507 *scr. syri* 213; Louvain, 1989). This volume covers the years 488–775; volume one falls outside the period of this book and has not been used. The fourth part, covering 586–775, was edited and translated separately by Chabot as *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahrê, quatrième partie* (Paris, 1895). The third part has been translated by Witold Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: Chronicle (known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin). Part III* (Translated Texts for Historians 22; Liverpool, 1996). A French translation of Parts Three and Four has been prepared by Amir Harrak.

Chron. 819 = J.B. Chabot, ed./tr. (on the basis of a transcript made by I. Barsaum) *Chronicon anonymum ad AD 819 pertinens* in *Chron. 1234*, 1.3–22/1–16 (see next but one entry); *ibid.*, 1.10–15, covering the years 590–717, are translated by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 76–80.

Chron. 846 = E.W. Brooks, ed./J.B. Chabot, tr. *Chronicon ad annum domini 846 pertinens* (*CSCO* 3–4 *scr. syri* 3–4; Paris, 1904), 157–238/123–80. There is an edition and translation of the entries for the years 574–846 by Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle of 846," and a translation of the notices for 600–717, where divergent from those of *Chron. 819*, by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 81–82.

Chron. 1234 = J.B. Chabot, ed. *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, 2 vols. (*CSCO* 81–82 *scr. syri* 36–37; Paris, 1916–20). The first volume was translated into Latin by Chabot (*CSCO* 109 *scr. syri* 56; Paris, 1937), the second into French by A. Abouna (*CSCO* 354 *scr. syri* 154; Louvain, 1974). Notices for the years 582–717 are translated by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 111–221.

Ehnesh Inscription = Palmer, ed./tr. "Messiah and Mahdi," who provides references for the earlier publications of this inscription by Chabot and Pognon; translation and brief discussion are given by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 71–74.

Fragment on the Arab Conquest = E.W. Brooks, ed./J.B. Chabot, tr. *Narratio de expugnatione Syriae ab arabibus* (*CSCO* 3-4 *scr. syri* 3-4; Paris, 1904), 75/60; Nöldeke, ed./tr. "Geschichte der Araber," 77-78/78-79; Palmer, tr. *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 2-4.

Gabriel of Qartmin. *Life* = Ms. BL Add. 17,265 (13th century); A. Palmer, ed. *Tash'ītā d-qadīshā Mār Shemu'īl w-Mār Shem'ūn w-Mār Gabr'īl* (St. Ephrem der Syrer Kloster; Glane/Losser, 1983), 55-92; repr. in microfiche supplement to Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, where page numbers are given in Roman numerals; Nau, partial ed./tr. "Notice historique," 98-111/55-68. Later versions of the *Life* are to be found in Ms. Paris syr. 375 (ed./tr. of fols. 99-102 by Nau, "Un colloque," 274-79) and in Ms. Sachau 221 (summary and analysis by Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften*, 2.581-87, and see 2.535-36).

George of Resh'aina. *Syriac Life of Maximus* = Brock, ed./tr. "Syriac Life of Maximus," 302-13/314-19.

Gospel of the Twelve Apostles = Harris, ed./tr. *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*; Suermann, ed./tr. *Geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, 98-109.

Jacob of Edessa. *Replies to Addai*, nos. 1-71 = de Lagarde, ed. *Reliquiae iuris*, 117-44; Lamy, ed./tr. *Dissertatio de Syrorum fide*, 98-171; Kayser, tr. *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, 11-33; Nau, tr. *Canons et résolutions*, 38-66. Nos. 72-98 = Ms. Harvard syr. 93, fols. 16b-18a, 25a-33b. Nos. 99-116 = Vööbus, ed./tr. *Synodicon*, 258-61/235-38 (nos. 1-3, 6, 8-21 in Vööbus' numbering).

———. *Replies to John*, A1-16 = Ms. Harvard syr. 93, fols. 37a-44b; 15 of these (and 2 additional ones) are found in Vööbus, ed./tr. *Synodicon*, 245-54/225-33.

———. *Replies to John*, B1-27 = Vööbus, ed./tr. *Synodicon*, 233-45/215-25.

———. *Canons*, nos. 1-31 = Ms. Harvard syr. 93, fols. 18a-25a; 23 of these are given in Vööbus, ed./tr. *Synodicon*, 269-72/245-47.

———. *Canons (BH)* = Bar Hebraeus. *Nomocanon*. ed. Paul Bedjan (Paris, 1898); the material pertaining to Jacob is edited and translated by Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, 5-28 (back)/35-46, and translated by Nau, *Canons et résolutions*, 69-75. For further information on Jacob's canons and resolutions see Excursus A above.

———. *Chronicle* = E.W. Brooks, ed./tr. *Chronicon Iacobi Edesseni* (*CSCO* 5-6 *scr. syri* 5-6; Paris, 1905), 261-330/199-258; *idem*, tr. "The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa," 266-327; Habbi, ed./tr. *Tawārīkh suryānīya*,

53–122/126–201; the seventh-century notices are translated by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 36–40. For Jacob's preface to his chronicle see Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.106; Michael the Syrian 7.II, 128.

———. *Letters* = Ms. BL Add. 12,172, fols. 65–135, which is written by two hands (fols. 65–78, 79–135), both of the ninth century, and contains 27 letters: 1 to anon., 6 to Eustathius of Dara, 1 to Abraham the priest, 1 to Thomas the Sculptor, 1 to Cyrius, 16 to John the Stylite of Litarb and 1 to George the Deacon. They are described by Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.592–605 (no. 707), and most of those in the second hand (to John the Stylite and George the Deacon) have been published in some form:

No. 1 (79a–81a): ed./tr. R. Schröter, "Erster Brief Jacobs von Edessa an Johannes den Styliten," *ZDMG* 24 (1870), 267–72/272–76; summary and partial tr. by Nau, "Cinq lettres," 434–36.

No. 2 (81a–81b): summary and partial tr. by Nau, "Cinq lettres," 436–37.

No. 3 (81b–83a): tr. Nau, "Cinq lettres," 431–34.

No. 4 (83a–85a): ed./tr. François Nau, "Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse au diacre Georges sur une hymne composée par S. Ephrem et citée par S. Jean Maron," *ROC* 6 (1901), 120–24/125–28.

No. 5 (85a–87b): summary and partial tr. by Nau, "Cinq lettres," 437–40.

No. 6 (87b–91a): ed./tr. François Nau, "Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse sur la généalogie de la sainte Vierge," *ROC* 6 (1901), 517–22/522–31.

No. 7 (91a–94b): ed./tr. François Nau, "Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse à Jean le Stylite sur la chronologie biblique et la date de la naissance du Messie," *ROC* 5 (1900), 583–87/588–96.

No. 8 (94b–97b): tr. Nau, "Cinq lettres," 428–31.

Nos. 10–11 (99a–110a): summarised by Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 145–46 (on fixed terms of life).

Nos. 12–13 (110a–121b): William Wright, ed. "Two Epistles of Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa," *Journal of Sacred Literature* ser. iv, 10 (1867), 434–60; tr. François Nau, "Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Edesse (exégèse biblique)," *ROC* 10 (1905), 198–208, 258–79.

No. 14 (122a–26b): John puts a number of questions to Jacob, of which the one on direction of prayer (124a) is translated in Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 173 n. 30, and in the entry on "Sacred Direction of Prayer" in Chapter 13 above.

Outside of BL Add. 12,172 there exist three letters to a certain Stephen (Scher, *Catalogue*, 61, Codex 81) and one letter each to the priest Addai (Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.233, no. 300), Simeon the Stylite (*ibid.*,

2.800, no. 799), the deacon Barhadbeshabba (*ibid.*, 3.1149, no. 972), John the Stylite (Mingana, *Catalogue*, 10), Constantine (Payne-Smith, *Catalogus*, 462, no. 142), Lazarus the ascetic (Ms. Sharf. Patr. 79, fol. 27a, noted by Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1A.211 n. 71; cf. Mingana, *Catalogue*, 11), a certain Daniel (Assemani, *BO*, 1.487), and George, bishop of Serug (G. Phillips, ed. *A Letter by Mar Jakob of Edessa on Syriac Orthography*, London, 1869; J.P. Martin, ed./tr. *Jacobi episcopi Edesseni epistola ad Georgium episcopum Sarugensem de orthographia syriaca*, Paris, 1869). There is another on Syriac orthography (Assemani, *BO*, 1.478–79), and one on the divine dispensation (Payne-Smith, *Catalogus*, 460, no. 142). In addition, there exist extracts from letters preserved in citations by later authors or in manuscripts; e.g. to the priest Paul of Antioch (Assemani, *BO* 1.477, cited by Bar Hebraeus), to a certain Moses (Baumstark, "Die Zeit der Einfuhrung des Weihnachtsfestes in Konstantinopel," *OC* 2, 1902, 442–43, cited by George of B'altan), to Bar Hadad, bishop of Tella (Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.854, no. 827, cited by Moshe bar Kepha), and to the Melkites of Ḥarran (Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Mss. at Cambridge*, 2.786–87, Add. 2889). Finally, there are the letters giving replies to the questions of correspondents discussed in Excursus A above. Though all the aforementioned are designated as a "letter" (*eggartā*), some are more in the nature of a treatise, a homily or a question-and-answer collection. This will be explored and many of the letters edited in a forthcoming study by Jan van Ginkel.

_____. *Scholia* = G. Phillips, ed./tr. *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament* (London, 1864).

_____. *Tract against the Armenians* = Ms. Paris syr. 111, fols. 192a–93b; ed./tr. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, 3–4/34–5; tr. Nau, *Canons et résolutions*, 67–69. This is part of a dialogue between a pupil and various luminaries of the church. The question put to Jacob is whether anything can render an altar impure, to which he responds with an attack on the religious malpractices of the Armenians; this has probably been excerpted from a tract on such a subject. See Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, 72; Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, 4.

Maruta, *Life* = François Nau, ed./tr. "Histoire de Marouta métropolitain de Tagrit et de tout l'Orient (VIe–VIIe siècle) écrite par son successeur Denḥa," *PO* 3 (1909), 61–96.

Michael the Syrian = Chabot, ed./tr. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*. There exists also an Arabic translation (see *ibid.*, 1.xliii-l) and an abridged Armenian version (see the section on Armenian sources above).

Patriarch John–Arab Emir, *Colloquy* = Nau, ed./tr. "Un colloque," 248–53/257–64; Suermann, tr. "Orientalische Christen und der Islam," 122–25; Atiya, tr. "Al-jadal al-dīnī al-masīḥī al-islāmī," 411–14. Gerrit Reinink has prepared a new edition and translation of this text.

Ps.-Ephraem. *Sermon on the End of Times* = E. Beck, ed. *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III* (*CSCO* 320 *scr. syri* 138; Louvain, 1972), 60–71 (Sermo 5); reproduced with German translation by Suermann, *Geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, 12–33.

Ps.-Ezra. *Apocalypse* = F. Baethgen, ed./tr. "Beschreibung der syrischen Handschrift 'Sachau 131' auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 (1886), 200–204/204–10; Chabot, ed./tr. "L'apocalypse d'Esdras," 243–50/333–41 (according to Ms. Paris 326). It is also found in Ms. BL Add. 25,875 (Wright, *Catalogue*, 3.1065, no. 922) and in a Vatican Ms. (Assemani, *BO* 2, 498; 3.1, 282).

Ps.-Methodius, *Apocalypse* = Gerrit J. Reinink, ed./tr. *Die syrische Apokalypse des pseudo-Methodius* (*CSCO* 540–41 *scr. syri* 220–21; Louvain, 1993); Martinez, ed./tr. *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, 58–92/122–54; Suermann, ed./tr. *Geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, 34–85; Alexander, tr. *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 36–51.

Ps.-Methodius (Edessan fragment) = François Nau, ed./tr. "Révélations et légendes. Méthodius-Clément-Andronicus," *JA* ser. xi, 9 (1917), 415–52; Martinez, ed./tr. *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, 222–28/232–39; Suermann, ed./tr. *Geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, 86–97.

Qenneshre Fragment = Nau, ed./tr. "Notice historique," 124–35/114–23.

Sergius the Stylite. *Disputation against a Jew* = Hayman, ed./tr. *Disputation of Sergius against a Jew*.

Short Chron. 705 = Land, ed. *Anecdota Syriaca*, 2.10–11 (Addenda et emendanda in tomo primo); Nau, tr. "Un colloque," 226 n. 1; Palmer, tr. *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 43.

Short Chron. 724 = Land, ed./tr. *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1.40/41; it also appears appended to Thomas the Presbyter's *Chronicle* (*CSCO* 3–4 *scr. syri* 3–4, 155/119; see the entry on him at the end of this section).

Short Chron. 775 = E.W. Brooks, ed./tr. *Expositio quomodo se habeant generationes et familiae et anni ab Adamo usque hunc diem* (*CSCO* 5–6 *scr. syri* 5–6; Paris, 1905), 337–49/267–75; Habbi, ed./tr. *Tawārīkh suryānīya*, 228–40/243–58. Notices for the years 582–724 are translated by Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 51–52; the whole chronicle is described and notices from 618 to 775 are translated in the relevant entry in Chapter 10 above.

Simeon of the Olives. *Life* = Philoxenus Y. Dolabani, ed. *Maktabzabnē d-ʿūmrā qaddīshā d-Qarṭmīn* (Mardin, 1959), 125–58, which is a loose edition of Ms. Mardin Orth. 8 (no. 259), fols. 203–47 (see Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 161); summarised by Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel," 174–79. An edition is being prepared by Andrew Palmer.

Syriac CS: the Syriac common source of the chronicles of Theophanes, Agapius and Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (as preserved by Michael the Syrian and *Chron. 1234*), written by Theophilus of Edessa (see the entry on him in Chapter 10 above).

Theodotus of Amida. *Life* = Ms. Damascus Patr. 12/18 (12th century), fols. 58a–69b (no. 83). See Arthur Vööbus, "Découverte de la biographie de Théodote d'Amid par Šemʿōn de Samosate," *Le Muséon* 89 (1976), 39–42, and *idem*, "Discovery of an Unknown Syrian Author: Theōdōtē of Amid," *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986), 196–201. An edition and translation has been prepared by Andrew Palmer.

Thomas the Presbyter. *Chronicle* = E.W. Brooks, ed./J.B. Chabot, tr. *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum domini 724 pertinens* (*CSCO* 3–4 *scr. syri* 3–4; Paris, 1904), 77–154/63–119; Land, partial ed./tr. *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1.2–22/1.103–21 (corresponds to 129–54 of Brooks' edition).

Syriac (*Eastern*)

Bar ʿIdta. *Histories* = E.A. Wallis Budge, ed./tr. *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-ʿIdtâ* (London, 1902), 1.113–202/2.163–304.

Chron. Khuzistan = I. Guidi, ed./tr. *Chronicon anonymum* (*CSCO* 1–2 *scr. syri* 1–2; Paris, 1903), 15–39/15–32; Nöldeke, tr. "Syrische Chronik," 5–48; P. Haddad, ed./Arabic tr. *Sharbē medem men qlisasṭīqē wa-d-qōsmōsṭīqē* (Syriac Academy Publications; Baghdad, 1976). An English translation has been prepared by Sebastian Brock.

Elias of Nisibis. *Chronicle* (Syriac and Arabic) = E.W. Brooks and J.B. Chabot, ed./tr. *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, 2 parts (*CSCO* 62–63 *scr. syri* 21–24; Paris, 1909–1910); Friedrich Baethgen, ed./tr. (of Islamic period) *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; Leipzig, 1884); L.J. Delaporte, tr. *La chronographie d'Elie Bar-Šinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe* (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études 181; Paris, 1910).

History of the Convent of Sabrisho' = Alphonse Mingana, ed./tr. *Sources syriaques* (Leipzig, 1907), Part 1, 171–220/221–67.

Ḥnanisho'. *Rulings*, nos. 1–25 = Sachau, ed./tr. *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, 2.1–51.

Isho' bar Nun. *Canons*, nos. 1–130 = Sachau, ed/tr. *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, 2.119–77.

Isho'bokht of Fars. *Corpus iuris* = Sachau, ed./tr. *Syrischer Rechtsbücher*, 3.1–201.

Isho'dnaḥ of Baṣra. *Book of Chastity* = J.B. Chabot, ed./tr. *Le livre de la chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baçrah* (Extrait des mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 16; Rome, 1896); Paul Bedjan, ed. *Liber superiorum seu historia monastica auctore Thoma, episcopo margensi* (Paris, 1901), 437–517 ("Historia fundatorum monasteriorum in regno Persarum et Arabum"). Chabot made of two Nathaniels one entry (66a and 66b instead of 66 and 67); to make up the number of lives to 140, as is stated in the colophon, he had to assign a number to Helena, even though the colophon explicitly excludes her from the 140. I give the original numbering as followed by Bedjan.

Isho'yahb III. *Liber epistularum*. ed./tr. Rubens Duval (*CSCO* 11–12 *scr. syri* 11–12; Paris, 1904–1905); the letters written by Isho'yahb while a bishop are edited and summarised by Philip Scott-Montcrief, *The Book of Consolations, or the Pastoral Epistles of Mâr Îshô'yahbh of Kûphlânâ in Adiabene* (London, 1904). In references I put B, M or C before the letter number to indicate that the letter was allegedly written when Isho'yahb was bishop, metropolitan or catholicos respectively.

John of Daylam. *Syriac Life* = Brock, "Syriac Life of John of Dailam," which includes an edition and translation of a West Syrian prose biography in full (135–51), and of an East Syrian verse panegyric in part (182–89).

John bar Penkaye (wrote *Ktābā d-rīsh mellē* in 15 books) = Alphonse Mingana, ed. (of Books 10–15)/tr. (of Book 15) *Sources syriaques* (Leipzig, 1907), Part 2, 1–171/172–97; Brock, tr. (of the end of Book 14 and most of Book 15) "Book XV of Bar Penkaye's *Rīš Mellē*," 57–74.

Monk of Beth Ḥale. *Disputation* = Ms. Diyarbakir 95, fols. 1–8; an edition has been prepared by Han Drijvers.

Rabban Hormizd. *Histories* = E.A. Wallis Budge, ed./tr. *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idtâ* (London, 1902), 1.3–109/2.1–160. See also *idem*, ed. *The Life of Rabban Hôrmîzd: a Metrical Discourse by Waḥlê, surnamed Sergius of Âdhôrbâîjân* (Berlin, 1894).

Sahdona. *Book of Perfection* = A. de Halleux, ed./tr. *Martyrius (Sahdona). Oeuvres spirituelles: Livre de la Perfection* (*CSCO* 200–201, 214–15, 252–53 *scr. syri* 86–87, 90–91, 110–11; Louvain, 1960–65).

Simeon of Rewardashir. *Canons*, nos. 1–22 = Sachau, ed./tr. *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, 3.207–53; A. Rücker, ed./tr. *Die Canones des Simeon von Rêvârdešîr* (Ph.D. thesis, Universität von Breslau; Leipzig, 1908).

Synodicon orientale = J.B. Chabot, ed./tr. *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 37; Paris, 1902); Oscar Braun, tr. *Das Buch der Synhados nach einer Handschrift des Museo Borgiano* (Stuttgart and Vienna, 1900). An English translation has been prepared by M. Birnie for a new series of East Christian canon law (Rome, forthcoming).

Theodore bar Koni. *Scholion* = Addai Scher, ed. *Theodorus bar Kōnī. Liber scholiorum* (*CSCO* 55 and 69 *scr. syri* 19 and 26; Paris, 1910–12); Robert Hespel and R. Draguet, tr. *Théodore bar Koni. Livre des scolies* (*CSCO* 431–32 *scr. syri* 187–88; Louvain, 1981-82). Scher edited the Siirt recension of this text; there is another version, that of Urmiah, and those passages that differ from or are additional to the Siirt recension have been edited and translated by Robert Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni. Livre des scholies* (*CSCO* 447–48 and 464–65 *scr. syri* 193–94 and 197–98; Louvain, 1983–84).

Thomas of Marga. *Governors* = Budge, ed./tr. *The Book of Governors*; Paul Bedjan, ed. *Liber superiorum seu historia monastica auctore Thoma, episcopo margensi* (Paris, 1901), 1–436; A. Abouna, tr. *Kitāb al-ru'asā'* (Mosul, 1966).

Timothy I. *Syriac Apology* = Mingana, ed./tr. "Apology of Timothy," 91–162/15–90.

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